

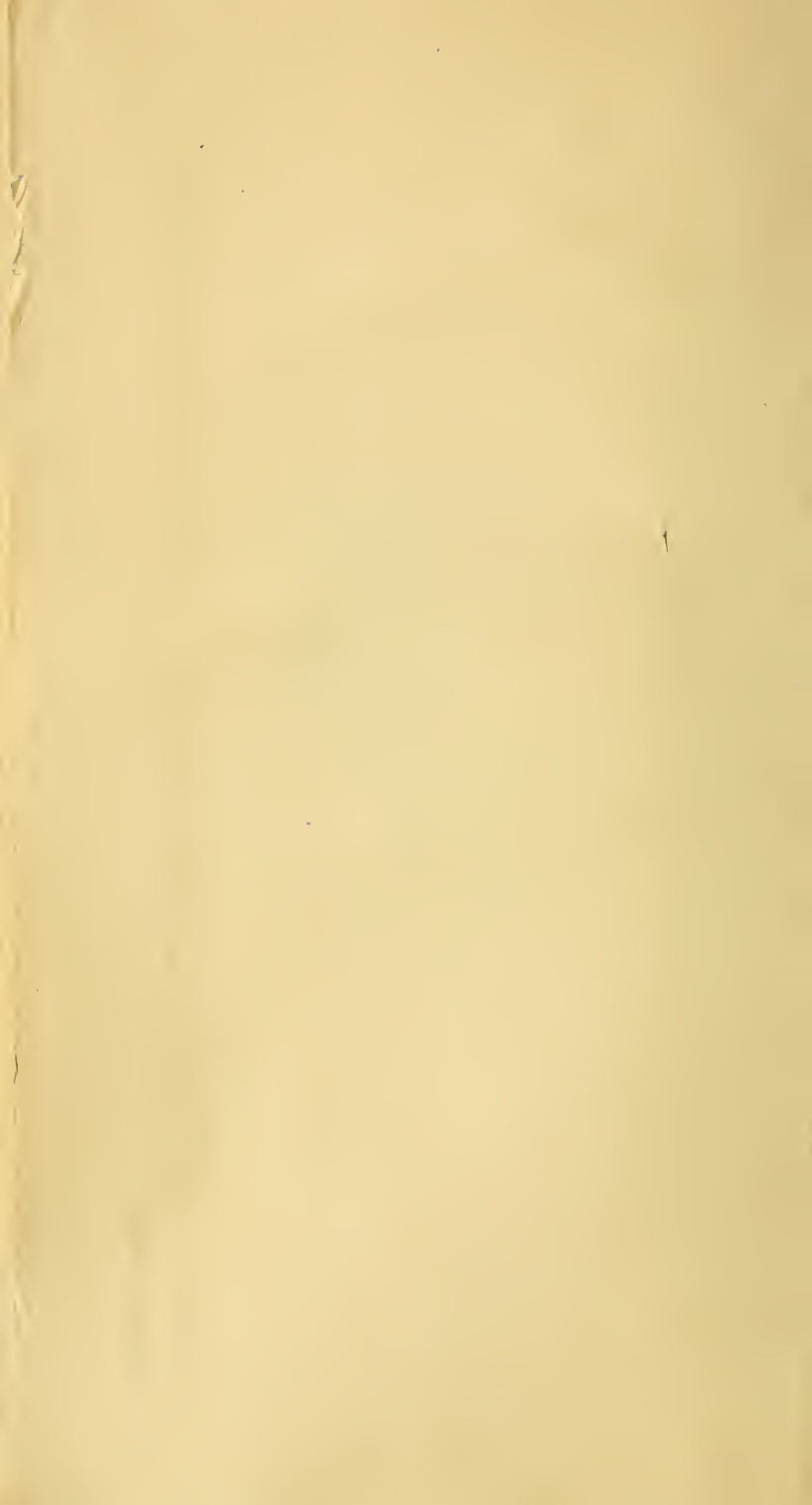




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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
NAPOLEON BONAPARTE;  
EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH,  
AND  
KING OF ITALY.

WITH TWO ENGRAVINGS.

*George Hanna*

"Ille non modo eorum hominum, qui nunc sunt, gloriam, sed etiam antiquitatis memoriam virtute superavit; plura bella gessit quam cæteri legerunt; plures provincias confecit, quam alii concupiverunt; et ejus adolescentia ad scientiam rei militaris non alienis præceptis, sed suis imperiis; non offensionibus belli, sed victoriis; non stipendiis, sed triumphis erudita est."



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## *PREFACE.*

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AS no apology for the manner in which this volume is executed would be admitted by its readers, none is offered ; and as little merit is claimed, no praise is expected: hence the formality of a preface would have been altogether omitted, had it not been considered necessary to state whence this history of Bonaparte has been compiled. The publications which have been consulted, are a variety of English and French works, such as the Annual Registers, Stephen's Wars, Campaign in Italy in both languages, La vie de Bonaparte, Les Cinqes

Hommes, *Precis des Evenemens Militaires*, Denon's *Egypt*, Berthier's *Narrative*, Wilson's *Expedition*, Bonaparte and the French People, *Le Dix-huit Brumaire*, Burdon's *Life and Character of Bonaparte*, the *Revolutionary Plutarch*, &c. &c. This work contains every thing interesting in the life of Napoleon I. which bears the character of authenticity. With regard to a very late volume, "*The Secret History of St. Cloud*," nothing has been extracted from it; for that book, besides its general features, possesses very strong internal evidence that it is a spurious production, and although it will unfortunately for society have an unbounded circulation, still it cannot be denied that little if any dependence can be placed upon its details; and the person who reads it through is speedily nauseated and disgusted with the incessant repetition of the intrigues of debauchees, the excesses and infidelities of women in high life, and

the coarse indecent manner in which they are narrated. As no certainty at present exists with respect to those volumes to which this history is indebted; and as the extracts which have been made are not marked, it is highly probable that in some instances the language of others has been unintentionally adopted, whilst it was frequently introduced by design....therefore this general remark will serve as a shield against the charge of plagiarism....and originality in a work of this kind being impossible, all that can be desired is accuracy of detail, assiduity of research, and correctness of style. He who writes the life of Bonaparte at present, even if he were so inclined, dares not to investigate freely and fully the cause and effect of all those important events in which he has been principally concerned; and that patience of investigation which such a work would demand, will not suit the avidity with which the present generation wish to be informed of the won-



derful changes which the French emperor is daily producing on the European continent. In this volume will be found no profundity of disquisition, no excursions of the imagination, no embellishments of fancy, which never should be admitted into historical composition...no learned investigations, no wild anticipations, and no colouring to the narration....it is an unadorned, and as far as the documents which could be procured authorize, a faithful relation of the uncommon scenes through which has passed probably the most extraordinary character whose name lives in history. That which Cicero said of Pompey being much more just when asserted of Bonaparte: “ He has surpassed not the  
“ generals of the present age only, but  
“ even those of antiquity in military  
“ fame; conducted more wars than  
“ those of which others have read;  
“ reduced more provinces than others  
“ have desired; and his youth was  
“ trained to the profession of arms,



“ not by the precepts of other men,  
“ but by his commands; not by mis-  
“ takes in war, but by victories; not  
“ by a series of campaigns, but by a  
“ succession of triumphs.” This narrative nevertheless contains a great variety of incidents which are comprised in no other volume, and which cannot be known except by resorting to the same sources, which would not compensate for the trouble, and probably be unsuccessful. Many of the anecdotes of Bonaparte which are inserted, remain unaltered and continue in the language of the authors from whom they were extracted: and the continual accession of new documents even until the work was nearly completed, actuated the addition of those few pages which are filled with occurrences received too late to be inserted in their proper order in the body of the history. The general distinctive marks of Bonaparte’s military character, occur twice or thrice in the volume, but the repetition was consi-

dered necessary to render the connection and sense complete.

The literal errata which may be discovered, and which have no effect upon the meaning of the word are not noticed...but the reader is requested to correct an important error in page 12th, in the sixteenth and seventeenth lines from the head, for “ *Marshal Prince of Saxony,*” read “ *Marshal Comte de Saxe;*” page 305, the signature should be in conformity to etiquette, “ *Napoleon,*” instead of “ *Bonaparte;*” page 307, eleventh line, read “ *of the Italian consulta,*” &c. page 310, twelfth line, for “ *retired*” read “ *retreated;*” page 332, fifth line from the bottom, for “ *oppressed*” insert “ *opposed.*” These it is believed are the most obvious mistakes in the volume.

GEORGE BOURNE,

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THE  
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*Birth....Education....and Employment of Bonaparte, until his appointment to the command of the army of Italy, in the year 1796.*

GREAT events always produce extraordinary characters: they excite the passions, and invigorate the talents of men: they animate exertion, raise merit from obscurity, and unfold the energy of genius. The truth of this observation, has been strikingly evinced, since the commencement of the French revolution; proving the love of freedom to be an active and irresistibly powerful principle;

which, when once roused, operates with an electrick power, wakens the lethargick, inflames the whole mass of society, and in the contests which it originates, exhibits all the virtues and vices of human nature. √

When contending for liberty, against the oppression of domestic tyrants, or the attempts of foreign powers to enslave them; Greece and Rome displayed a host of heroes. Similar causes have, in modern times, been accompanied by similar effects; and the late war in Europe discovered some of the most illustrious characters whom the historian has hitherto commemorated.

The French armies, previous to the Revolution, were disorganized, without discipline, dissatisfied, numerous without skill, and generally unsuccessful in battle. That, which forced the veterans of the continent of Europe, to turn pale before raw recruits, and which discomfited Brunswick, Clairfait, Wurmser, &c. can have been no common principle. Hence, we feel interested in every particular which relates to such personages as Jourdan, Pichegru, Hoche, Moreau and Bonaparte; and the high station to which the latter has attained, renders the perusal of a review of his life an interesting employment, which must be attended with considerable advantage.

Napoleon Bonaparte, the son of Charles Bonaparte, and Lætitia Raniolini, was born at Ajaccio, in Corsica, August 15th, 1769.

His father, who was likewise a native of Ajaccio, was bred to the law at Rome, and joined Paoli, in the struggle between the islanders and Louis XV. On this occasion, he not only disrobed himself of his gown, but carried arms as a private soldier.

When the French had conquered the island, he wished to retire with Paoli; but a Canon, who was his uncle, and to whom he always submitted with filial obedience, opposed his views so strongly, that he relinquished his plan of emigration, and fixed his residence in Ajaccio.

In 1773, a deputation was sent from Corsica, to visit the French king; and Charles Bonaparte represented the nobles. He was soon after appointed to fill the office of Procureur Reale of Ajaccio, in which his ancestors, who had left their native country Sarzana, during the wars between the Guelphs and the Gibelins, had been settled for nearly four centuries.

Charles Bonaparte was much esteemed by the French, and his family lived in the greatest intimacy with that of M. de Marbœuf, the governor.

In the year 1779, Charles Bonaparte being dead, governor Marbœuf sent Napoleon, then 10 years of age, to the military school of Brienne, in Champagne; where he applied himself very industriously to the mathematics, and in which he studied the art of war scientifically: at this time the education



which he received developed his great talents and genius. Except the regular hours of duty in the college, he spent nearly his whole time, immediately after his arrival, in the cell, and with part of a hammock, a washing-bason, and an earthen pitcher, was confined every night, like the other students, and steadily watched by the inspector. As the system of tuition was principally adapted for those who were designed for a military life, it was altogether congenial with his views and inclinations.

There was something in his manners and habits, very extraordinary for his age: the playfulness of youth was lost in study; Plutarch's Lives, and the Life of the Marshal Prince of Saxony, were his constant companions; and an energy and pride unexampled, were frequently exhibited by him.

While at the college of Brienne, he formed a garden with his own hands, and fortified it, against the attacks of his school-fellows. In this garden, he would walk and meditate; and at length, became so fond of his retreat, that he spent most of his hours of recreation in it; philosophical and mathematical books were his delight, his mind disdaining all lighter studies. The boys at the college once, whilst sporting with some fireworks, injured his garden, but they soon repented of their carelessness.

He was indifferent to military disgrace. The pupils were divided into companies,

forming a battalion; they assumed the French regulars' uniform; and Bonaparte was one of the captains. By a court-martial, collected to confer together on some action of which it was said he ought not to have been guilty, he was, in all regularity of proceeding, with form and solemnity, declared unworthy of his rank, adjudged to be deprived of his office, and reduced to a private soldier. The sentence was read, and he was divested of his official paraphernalia, without evincing any emotion or regret.

Bonaparte always interested himself with much spirit in the Corsican patriots' success; he was very anxious to procure information concerning his country: Paoli, his god-father, was almost idolized by him; and he was animated by a wondrous enthusiasm, when he either thought or spoke of Paoli, or of his country. One of his school-fellows relates this anecdote of him, about this time: "Some of the French officers, who had been in Corsica, would repair to the military school; and talking of the war, would give the most exaggerated accounts of their success against the Corsicans: Bonaparte quietly suffered them to talk, asking them occasionally a question or two; but when he was certain he could prove their having falsified a fact, he would exclaim with eagerness...." Are you not ashamed for a momentary gratification of vanity, to calumniate in this manner a whole nation? You say that there were six hundred of you only in the en-

gagement; I know you were six thousand; and that you were opposed by a few wretched peasants only!" He would then open his journals and maps, and he generally ended his declamation with saying to his friend.... "Come, let us leave these dastards."

His strictness and character made him enemies amongst his school-fellows: he expected one day a serious attack; and had accordingly barricaded his room in the military manner; but he was disappointed; if they had formed such a design it was abandoned: and yet it does not appear, why any of the boys should have so much disliked him; for he was often chastised for the faults of others, without uttering a complaint, or expressing the least dissatisfaction.

The boys at Brienne joined in the celebration of the Lord's Supper: and it was usual for the communicants to be confirmed on the same day on which they first received it. The day on which Bonaparte was confirmed, the ceremony was performed at the school by the arch-bishop of the diocese. When he reached Bonaparte, he asked him, like the rest, his christian name. Bonaparte answered with a spirit and frankness, totally different from the fearful and sheepish looks of his companions. Napoleon being an uncommon name, was not at first understood by the arch-bishop, who required him to answer again; upon which Bonaparte repeated it with some anxiety. The assisting priest observed to the



prelate: "Napoleon, I do not know that saint." "I believe it," replied Bonaparte, "that saint is a Corsican."

In the year 1783, Bonaparte's propensity to fortification, displayed itself by building a small fort of snow; with the garden utensils, he and his comrades erected a square, having four corner bastions, encompassed by a wall three feet six inches high, which was not dissolved until the ensuing May.

Bonaparte was instructed in the rudiments of the mathematics by Father Patrault, a minim of Brienne. He still esteems and respects his master. The general instructions at the college, did not benefit him much, he having devoted himself entirely to the acquisition of the mathematics. The classical and modern languages, the arts and sciences, writing, riding, &c. received but a small share of his attention.

He was removed from Brienne, in 1784, having been advanced to the military school at Paris, to which he was ordered before he had spent the time usually allowed to the pupils, who were sent to the capital in rotation; but the progress which he had made, and the superiority which he had attained, induced the tutors to give him the preference; he arrived in that city October 17, 1784.

At Paris he manifested similar energy, pursued the same principles, and displayed the same characteristics by which he had been known previous to his departure from

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Brienne. His leisure hours were passed away in a bastion belonging to the fort, "Lieu Brune," and erected for the use of the students at the end of their usual promenade. His companions in this situation were the works of Vauban, Cohon and Folard, by whose assistance he planned the attack and defence of the fort. Although not sixteen years of age, he proposed himself as a candidate for a commission in the artillery; and his success equalled his merits, for among thirty-six who were proclaimed victors in the contest at the examination, he ranked the twelfth.

When he was about fifteen years of age, and a cadet in the military school of Paris..., in the vast plain of the Champ de Mars, the court, and the Parisians, were assembled to witness the ascent of a balloon. Bonaparte passed through the croud, and unperceived, entered the inner fence, which contained the apparatus for inflating the silken globe. It was then very nearly filled, and restrained from its flight by the last cord only. The young cadet requested the aeronaut to permit him to mount the car with him, which request was immediately refused, from an apprehension that the feelings of the boy might embarrass the experiment. Bonaparte exclaimed, "I am young, it is true, but I fear neither the powers of earth nor of air;" and sternly added, "Will you let me ascend?" The aeronaut, a little offended at his obtrusion, sharply replied, "No, sir; I will not; I

beg that you will retire." Upon which, the little enraged officer, drew a small sabre, which he wore with his uniform, instantly cut the balloon in several places, and destroyed the curious apparatus, which the aeronaut had constructed with infinite labour and ingenuity, for the purpose of trying the possibility of aerial navigation.

Paris was almost unpeopled this day to view the spectacle. The disappointment of the populace, which was said to have exceeded seven hundred thousand persons, became violent and universal. The king sent to know the reason of the tumult; when the story was related to him, he laughed heartily, and said, "Upon my word, that impetuous boy will make a brave officer." He little thought he was speaking of his successor. The young offender was put under arrest, and confined for four days.

About the same time, as he was upon some occasion, conversing on the causes and progress of the revolution, with several young officers of equal rank to himself, he defended his opinions so firmly, that they would have thrown him into the ditch which encircles the Champ de Mars, and it was with difficulty he escaped the punishment which they had intended for him.

He entered the regiment of artillery, "La Fere," which was in garrison at Auxonne, in July, 1785; his days were spent in studying

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the fortifications, and a large portion of the night in meditation on those subjects which were connected with his profession, and which tended to improve and to fit him for that exalted station which he now fills.

Paoli visited France in the year 1790, and there discovered Bonaparte ; to which interview may be probably owing his residence in Corsica ; for not long after, he was elected lieutenant-colonel commandant of a battalion of the national guards in active service, at Ajaccio.

In the second expedition dispatched against Sardinia, he embarked with his countrymen, and landed in the island of Madalena, of which he took possession in the name of the French republic ; but he speedily discovered that the troops who had been collected for this expedition, were disorganized, and undisciplined, which hastened his return to Corsica.

Bonaparte was very active in his opposition to the designs of the English, during the year 1793 : he appeared off Ajaccio, and demanded that the town and citadel should surrender to the republic ; but the town was ably defended by his cousin Masseria, who was at the siege of Gibraltar, and who learnt the management of red-hot shot under lord Heathfield.

In the mean time, a scheme was formed to annex Corsica to England ; and Bonaparte had a difficult part to act : he was strongly at-



tached to Paoli ; and the treatment which he had received from the terrorists had excited so high a degree of resentment, that he himself wrote the remonstrance which was transmitted by the municipality of Ajaccio against the decree declaring the general an enemy of the commonwealth. It is evident that he was suspected of having too intimate a connection with Paoli, for Lacombe de St. Michel and the other two commissioners of the convention, issued their warrant to arrest Bonaparte. This did not eradicate his fidelity, nor did it hinder him from performing his duty, and fulfilling his engagements ; for as soon as he learnt that the English Mediterranean fleet had sailed to conquer his native island, he retired with his family to France, and resided about fifty miles from Toulon.

Excepting these unimportant occurrences, the time which had elapsed from the commencement of the revolution, had been principally employed by Bonaparte in military studies. At this time he was twenty-four years of age, and an officer in a company of artillery only.

The siege of Toulon roused his ardour, and displayed his scientifick knowledge. Salicetti, who was acquainted with his military endowments, introduced him to Barras, who with Freron another representative of the people, was ordered to superintend the operations of the army. At the attack of fort Pharo, a young officer was observed by them, to be

very active in directing his corps of artillery. The sang froid, and intrepidity which Bonaparte has evinced in every part of his military career, here shone with splendour: surrounded by danger and death, his wounded cannoners in heaps beside him, swimming in their own blood....he served almost alone a piece of artillery; charging, loading, ramming it, and undauntedly performing the whole work of the private men: the two representatives advanced him instantly, and gave him the defence of an important redoubt.

Barras, who was well qualified for the situation which he held, having found fault with the pointing of the guns in the battery; Bonaparte said, "Mind sir, your business of representative, and leave to me, mine in the artillery: the battery shall remain where it is, and I will answer with my life for its success." It is unnecessary to add, that to Bonaparte's skill, the speedy reduction of that city may be ascribed.

After the capture of Toulon, he was raised to the rank of brigadier-general, and ordered to Nice; but Aubry the deputy soon displaced him, and committed him to prison as a terrorist.

His papers were searched most rigorously, but nothing was discovered except a private friendly correspondence on common topics; plans of the war; military remarks; and letters filled with the most honourable and patriotic sentiments: there being therefore no

ground to suspect his attachment to the cause of liberty ; he was immediately liberated.

The following circumstance will prove, how much he was given up to his professional studies ; and, how many hours he dedicated to his own improvement ; for his unwearied mind was so constantly in exercise, that as usual, the night was appropriated to reading and the investigation of tactics. Whilst he staid at Nice, one of his friends, having immediate occasion for his assistance, walked to his apartment long before day, and concluding that he was in bed, knocked at his door very gently, that the noise might not discompose him : but as soon as he had entered the chamber, he saw to his astonishment, Bonaparte dressed as in the day, his police cap on his head, deeply engaged, with plans, maps, and a variety of books open near him. " What," said his friend, " not yet in bed ?" " In bed," replied Bonaparte, " I have already risen." " Indeed," added the former, " What so early ?" " Yes, so early : two or three hours are enough for sleep."

Soon afterwards an attempt was made to remove him from the corps, which, as a member he so much honoured, and to degrade him to the infantry....upon which he made a journey to Paris to remonstrate against such glaring injustice....but he received no redress ....he in consequence thereof demanded to be discharged....with permission to retire to Constantinople : neither of his requests were granted.

On the insurrection of the sections of Paris, on the 4th and 5th of October, 1795, he was second in command under Barras. That deputy had been bred a military man, and was resorted to by his colleagues in all great emergencies; he was anxious to have with him, at this time, the most able men, and therefore called upon Bonaparte to be near him. But the superintendence of the army was confided to Gentili, whose gallant defence of Bastia, had procured him great reputation. It was immediately made known that Gentili's deafness was an invincible obstacle to success; as he could neither hear nor attend to the multiplied and complicated reports of the aides-de-camp, who were continually bringing him messages, or addressing him relative to the situation of the people. Bonaparte was appointed his successor, and it is to the masterly dispositions made by him, that the triumph of the representative body is principally to be attributed. Even justice will admit, that the moderation then displayed by him in Paris, is not paralleled in modern history.

Tranquillity was restored, and he was rewarded with the command of the army of the interior.

As Bonaparte's conduct in this affair has been much censured, two or three remarks cannot be unsuitable.

Whatever there may have been blameable in the opposition made to the people, or



in the mode of securing the victory, must be imputed to the convention, or to Barras, who had the chief command. Bonaparte, as an inferior officer, knew no principle, no duty, but obedience to his commander.

But it should be recollected, that the day would have been much more fatal than it really was, had Bonaparte fully obeyed the orders which he had received : for his incessant firing of powder only during the night, produced the desired effect, impeded the sections in their attempts to rally, disheartened the leaders of the insurrection, and thus saved the lives of the people.

A general who was afterwards in company where the 13th Vendemiaire was introduced, said, in a manner which affected all who heard him : “ We must not judge without knowing our ground ; the Parisians are not aware how much they owe to Bonaparte : had he literally followed his orders, no day had ever been more bloody ! ”

After the inauguration of the directory, Bonaparte as general of the armed force, waited on each of the five directors. Carnot lived at the top of a house, beneath the ruins of the Luxembourg, the apartments preparing for him not being ready. It was on Monday that Bonaparte presented himself, which was the day in the week on which a certain author was in the habit of regularly visiting Carnot. When Bonaparte entered, this author was singing a new air, which a young la-

dy accompanied on the piano-forte. The appearance of Bonaparte stopped the music. Seeing five or six tall young men, his aides-de-camp, come into the room, followed by a well-made man, introducing and expressing himself with dignity, and bowing to the company with an air of ease and politeness, which formed a striking contrast with the manners and appearance of most of the generals who had appeared before, such as Rossignol and Santerre : the author asked Carnot in a whisper, " who that gentleman was ? " Carnot answered, " He is the general of the armed force of Paris.".... " What is his name ? ".... " His name is Bonaparte.".... " Is he a man of sense ? ".... " I really do not know.".... " Has he great military skill ? ".... " So it is said.".... " What has he ever done that is remarkable ? ".... " He is the officer who commanded the troops of the convention on the 13th of Vendemiaire." This was enough for the inquirer ; the shade deepened in his countenance ; he was one of the electors of Vendemiaire, bigottedly attached to his own opinions ; and he retired silently to a corner observing him, whose countenance beamed with an expression, which could not fail to have pleased him, but from what Carnot had told him.

Bonaparte seeing the young lady had discontinued playing on her instrument, and the company attending to him solely, said, " I have stopped your amusement, somebody was singing, I beg I may not interrupt the party."

The director apologized, the general insisted, and the lady at length, played and sung two or three patriotic airs. Bonaparte having amused himself a few minutes, arose and took his leave.

When he had retired, he became the subject of conversation, and Carnot asserted, "That Bonaparte would not be long in the same situation:" the event has more than completely verified the prediction.

Not long after, he married the widow of M. de Beauharnois, a beautiful French woman, who had experienced a variety of persecutions during the time of Robespierre. M. de Beauharnois had attained the rank of general in the service of the republic, and had always acted as a friend to liberty. On the day when Louis XVI. and his family entered Paris, M. de Beauharnois was president of the national assembly, and exhibited great dignity of deportment; notwithstanding which, he was a victim to the hatred of the terrorists, who, joining the narrow ideas of sectarists to the ferocious character peculiar to themselves, persecuted all those whose opinions were not exactly conformable to their own standard; and M. de Beauharnois, with a great number of others, died by the guillotine. By this marriage, Bonaparte obtained a fortune of five hundred thousand livres, and the chief command of the Italian army.

A little previous to his departure for Italy, whilst visiting a friend, he sketched his in-

tended campaign memoriter, and pointed out Millesimo as the first theatre of his victories. He traced the whole plan, proposing to drive the Austrians from Italy, by the defiles of the Tyrol, and at the bottom of the scheme wrote; "*And at the gates of Vienna I shall grant them peace.*"

Upon his promotion to the command, being but twenty-six years of age, one of his friends remarked to him, "You are very young to go thus, and take the chief command of an army:" he replied, "I shall be old when I return."

Bonaparte is rather below the middle stature, but admirably proportioned: though his figure be thin, he is very muscular, and calculated to bear the greatest fatigue. His features are small and meagre. His nose is aquiline; his dark blue eyes are fiery, and expressive of great genius. His forehead is square and projects; his chin is prominent, and raised like that of the Apollo Belvidere. He is of a pale olive complexion, with hollow cheeks. His countenance is melancholy, yet it indicates a superior and exalted mind. His hair is of a dark chesnut colour, approaching nearly to black, which he wears without powder, and closely cropped. His air, though serious, is open: and when roused, his complexion reddens, and his body becomes all energy and nerve. He possesses uncommon attainments; converses freely and without pedantry on all subjects; and writes and speaks



with fluency and eloquence. Above all things he has attempted, and in a great measure obtained, the government of his passions. He is very abstemious at his meals, and was never seen in the slightest degree intoxicated.

The following portrait of Bonaparte is from a French author, which we must admit to be a flattering likeness.

“He is habitually of a silent and contemplative disposition ; and preserves an inviolable secrecy by means of a rigorous silence, far better than other men do by a loquacious hypocrisy : yet, he is not devoid of the French politeness and gaiety. To a courage at once ardent and daring, he unites a coolness which nothing can derange ; to the vast conception of genius, all those stratagems of war which Hannibal practised so ably against the Romans ; the deepest reflection to the most rapid execution ; all the impetuosity of youth, to the experience of riper years ; the sagacity of the politician, to the talents of a great general ; and to a desire of glory, and the spirit of former conquerors, the virtues of sober wisdom, and every sentiment of humanity and moderation : politics, and the military art, are so much the favourite studies of his mind, as to be carried almost to enthusiasm and passion ; and from his opposite qualities, he is equally great in peace as in war.”

*Campaigns of 1796 and 1797, in Italy.*

THE French army had during the campaign of 1795, suffered very considerably, and the want of pay and comfortable subsistence had excited so much discontent among the soldiers, that during the following winter, the generals gave all who were dissatisfied permission to depart ; and thus many of the worst soldiers returned to France. Although the French government had resolved to carry on the war with energy in Italy, they disguised their proceedings, and eluded the vigilance of the coalition ; who, from knowing the weak and disorderly state of the southern army, concluded that no great efforts were necessary to resist its progress. In January and February 1796, the directory assembled an army of nearly 40,000 of those troops who had been engaged in Spain, and stationed them in Languedoc, Roussillon and Provence. They arrived in the territory of Genoa in the beginning of April, and with the remains of the former army formed a body of 56,000 men.

The German government had increased the Austrian army, so as to place general Beaulieu at the head of 50,000 men ; general Colli commanded about 20,000 Piedmontese, and the Duc d'Aouste was in Savoy with 15,000 men, to watch the motions of general Kellerman. Besides these, the Pope, the king of Naples, and the emperor of Germany, had assembled large bodies of additional troops, to repel any attempts which the French might make upon Italy.

When Bonaparte assumed the command of the army of Italy, he found himself with troops less numerous than those of the enemy, not clothed, without arms and ammunition, and dispirited by their diversified necessities. A man of common endowments, under these circumstances, would have been depressed and dismayed. Bonaparte beheld nothing in them, but the necessity of acting without delay. "If we are conquered," said he, "I shall yet be powerful ; we are therefore in want of nothing." From Geneva some of his deficiencies were supplied, and success very soon filled his army with a profusion of every thing of which they were in need.

As soon as he arrived at the head-quarters, which was early in the spring of 1796, he prepared for the campaign, determining to commence it as soon as the melting of the snow favoured the march of his troops. It was during the interval of time which elaps-

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ed between his arrival and the first military movements, that he laid the foundation of all his successes : he made use of every means to secure the affections of his soldiers....lived with them on terms of the greatest familiarity....marched on foot before them....submitted to all the hardships which they experienced....alleviated their distresses....redressed their grievances....and paid attention to every private's complaints. This conduct speedily gained him the warm attachment of his soldiers, which was augmented in proportion as his talents and success proved that he was altogether deserving of their confidence.

Carnot drew the outlines of the plan of this campaign, which the ardour and skill of Bonaparte qualified him to realize and surpass. Unlike the former, it was not restrained to the attack and defence of posts, but exhibits a scientific appearance : the courses of the rivers, the heights and direction of the mountains, the various governments, and the views of the people of Italy were all surveyed, and every thing connected with the success of the army studied and consolidated.

The French army, standing on the defensive, was cantoned on the barren rocks of the river Final ; the head-quarters were fixed at Albenga, and the advanced posts reached to Voltri, between Genoa and Savona.

The Austrians possessed the heights of Savona, Sarsello, Musona, Campo-Fredo, the Bochetta, and the valleys of the Trebia



and the Serevia, having the command of the two roads from Genoa to the Milanese. The Piedmontese were stationed at the foot of the Alps, extending from the Col de Tendi to Cairo, so as to secure the passes which led into Piedmont. The Bochetta is a chain of mountains, over which, forming endless windings, passes the great road leading from Genoa to Lombardy. On the top of the heights of these mountains, the road contracts itself so much, that scarcely three persons can travel abreast. It is properly speaking, this pass which is known by the name of Bochetta, and which is the key to the Genoese territories.

Thus were the contending armies situated when hostilities commenced. The campaign opened on the 9th of April. The French threatened many points of the army at once, to confuse the allies, and by dividing to weaken their force. It was effectual, for it actuated the Piedmontese to extend their line. By propagating a report that he intended to take Genoa, and by ordering general Laharpe with 12,000 men to advance very near to that city, Bonaparte induced general Beaulieu to leave Alexandria, and to advance to Novi, to defend the defile of Bochetta; the latter immediately detached a strong corps to take post before Genoa, and through wishing to keep up his communication with the army under general Colli, his front occupied nearly twenty leagues, which materially injured his position.

On the 20th of Germinal, ninth of April, general Beaulieu attacked the division under general Cervoni, and forced it to return to the centre of the army, which was posted on the heights of Savona. The next day, he continued his movements, and succeeded in his attempts upon all the advanced posts of the French army, except Montenotte, which it was indispensably necessary to conquer, before the expectation of cutting off the retreat of the division which had been repulsed, could be realized. Eighteen hundred men under the command of Rampon, resisted all the Austrian efforts to gain possession of this important redoubt, and night prevented the continuation of the contest.

While these measures were auspicious to the allies in front, Bonaparte, who had foreseen the retreat, had strengthened his posts upon the flank of the Austrian army, and during the night of the 21st, tenth of April, sent Massena with a division to gain their rear. On the 22d, eleventh, general Beaulieu began the battle at break of day; the success was various, and the victory undecided, until Massena appeared in the rear, which threw the Austrian army into confusion, and forced them to retreat; Bonaparte pursued them to Cairo: the loss of the Austrians amounted to 3,500 men, of which 2,500 were prisoners.

Bonaparte immediately removed his headquarters to Carcara, and established himself

the extreme. Bonaparte had also planted all his artillery in the form of a battery, and a heavy cannonading was commenced, which continued several hours.

As soon as the major part of the French army came up, Bonaparte called his generals, and informed them of his design to cross the bridge. The plan was unanimously disapproved of by them : but Bonaparte assembled a council of grenadiers, and made them an energetic harangue, which induced them to undertake the attack, although he did not dissemble the dangers which attended this coup-de-main. Four thousand grenadiers and carabiniers formed themselves into a solid column, and marched to the bridge. Having begun to cross the bridge, they were saluted with such an incessant shower of grápe shot, that the foremost ranks were swept away, to the amount of 700 men, and they had begun to hesitate about proceeding any further, when Massena, Berthier, Cervoni, Dallemagne, Lasnes and Dupat, rushed from the ranks, put themselves at the head of the troops, encouraged them by their words and example, and Bonaparte now appearing to animate them, they crossed the bridge, determined on death or victory, chaunting the Marseilles hymn, and shouting " Vive la République." The shock was so great, that the Austrian troops were discomfited, and their cannon taken; the remainder of the French

army immediately followed, and the Austrians not being able to maintain their ground, retreated to Mantua, having lost about 2,000 men in this action, an immense quantity of baggage, and 20 pieces of cannon.

The French after the battle of Fombio pursued the Austrians to Pizzighitone, but the Adda interposing, its capture was retarded, as the French had it not in their power to cross the river. As general Beaulieu however, after the battle of Lodi, had fled towards Mantua, and the French were closely following him, neither this place nor Cremona could be saved. Pizzighitone was invested on the 22d, the eleventh of May, and the French entered it the day following: Cremona surrendered without any resistance, and the advanced guard of the army continued their course to Milan.

General Beaulieu having left 1,800 men in the citadel, evacuated that city on the 25th, fourteenth, and Massena with 4,000 French entered it on the 26th, fifteenth: Bonaparte made his triumphal entry into the city on the 27th, sixteenth, and the castle surrendered after a siege of ten days.

Bonaparte having prepared himself by a short repose, to pursue the remains of the Austrian army, addressed his troops on the 1st of Prairial, twentieth of May, in the following manner:

“Soldiers! You have rushed like a torrent from the summits of the Appennine mountains, overthrown and dispossessed every thing that opposed your march.



“ The Piedmontese, delivered from the yoke of Austrian tyranny, have declared the sentiments that were natural to them of peace and amity for the French.

“ Milan belongs to you, and the republican flag is displayed throughout Lombardy. The dukes of Parma and Modena owe entirely their political existence to your generosity and clemency.

“ The army that threatened you with so much haughtiness, is compelled to seek safety in flight. The Po, Tessin, and the Adda, could not by their streams stop one moment your impetuosity. These vaunted bulwarks of Italy incited your contempt, you passed them with the same rapidity that you surmounted the Appennines.

“ Your successes have filled the bosom of your country with joy. Your representatives have dedicated a festival to your victories, which brought together the people of the republic. There, your parents, wives, sisters, and mistresses, rejoiced at your successes, and owned you with pride.

“ Yes, soldiers, you have done much....But does there not yet remain more for you to do?....Shall it be said that you knew how to gain victories, but not how to make a proper use of them?....Shall posterity reproach you for having found a Capua in Lombardy?....But I already behold you fly to arms : you cannot find rest on the down of sloth : you cannot dispense with glory, without a diminution of your happiness. Let us then be vigilant and resume our occupation. We have yet some forced marches to make. There remain still some enemies to subdue, some laurels to reap, and some injuries to avenge.

“ Let those tremble who have sharpened the poignards of civil war in our country, who have basely assassinated our ministers, and set fire to our vessels at Toulon : Let them tremble....the hour of vengeance has sounded.

“ But let the people be without disquietude, we are cordially their friends. Nor are we without amity for the descendants



of *Brutus* and *Scipio*, and those other great men whom we have taken for our model.

“ To re-establish the capitol, and place there with honour again, the statues of the heroes that gave it celebrity ; to recall to life the Roman spirit, benumbed several ages by slavery : such will be the effect, soldiers, of your victories ; victories that will make a new æra in the annals of the world, and confer on you the immortal glory of having changed the face of the Eden of Europe.

“ The French people, free, and respected in every quarter of the globe, will give to Europe a glorious peace, which will indemnify the sacrifices of every kind which they have made during six years. You will resume then the calm tranquillity of your fire-sides, and your fellow-citizens will say, in presenting you respectively to their friends : *This man belonged to the army of Italy.*”

The duke of Modena, at this period, solicited and obtained an armistice from Bonaparte, as a prelude to peace, upon terms very similar to that which had been granted to the duke of Parma.

On the 5th of Prairial, May twenty-fourth, a general insurrection broke out against the French. The inhabitants of the towns and villages armed themselves, trampled the national cockade under foot, cut down the trees of liberty, and massacred all the small parties of the republicans. The inhabitants of Pavia, assisted by 6,000 peasants, disarmed the French garrison, and took it prisoner. The garrison at Milan, upon a similar attempt against them, dispersed the insurgents, and killed great numbers of them. Bona-

parte had begun his march, when he heard of this revolt. He immediately returned, burnt the village of Binasco, slew a hundred of its inhabitants, beat down the gates of Pavia, delivered the garrison and pillaged the town : these severe measures speedily quelled the insurgents.

General Beaulieu had during the time that these events occurred, crossed the Oglio and the Mincio, and assumed a new position ; his right was supported by the lake of Garda and the fortress of Peschiera, his left by Mantua, and the whole of his line was covered by batteries:

Bonaparte having resolved to cross the Mincio at Borghetto, arrived there on the 10th, twenty-ninth ; the van-guard of the Austrian army, consisting of 4,000 infantry and 1,800 horse, defended the approaches to it. The French forced all the redoubts, which induced the Austrians to cross the bridge, one of whose arches they destroyed. The repairing of the bridge causing a great delay, and being a work of much difficulty, under the continual fire of the Austrian batteries ; about fifty grenadiers, led by general Gardanne, threw themselves into the river, and immersed to the chin in water, with their muskets elevated above their heads, forded it to the astonishment of the Austrians, who immediately retired.

The bridge was easily rendered secure in consequence of ~~this~~ act of intrepidity, and

the French troops took possession of Valeggio, Beaulieu's head-quarters, not long before abandoned. Augereau was now ordered to surround Peschiera, and to cut off the retreat of the Austrians ; but the latter anticipated this design, hastened away by Castelnuovo, and effected their retreat. Beaulieu before his departure supplied Mantua with provisions, garrisoned it with 12,000 men and retired into the Tyrol.

On the 12th, thirty-first, the French marched to Rivoli, but general Beaulieu had crossed the Adige, and carried off almost all the bridges. These skirmishes cost the Austrians 1,500 men and 500 horses. Beaulieu's army was reduced when he reached the Tyrol to 14,000 men.

Whilst Bonaparte was reviewing a half brigade, a private of the light infantry approached him, and said, " General ! so and so ought to be done." " Fool," answered he, " wilt thou be silent ?"....He instantly disappeared. The general made the most diligent search for him, but in vain ; his advice however, was an exact counterpart of the orders which Bonaparte was then upon the point of issuing.

Massena took possession of Verona on the 13th Prairial, June the first ; and Mantua, the only fortress in Italy in the possession of the Austrians, was immediately invested ; but its peculiar situation, the want of artillery and other causes rendered the blockade incom-

plete. On the 16th, June 4th, the French became masters of the suburbs of St. George, and fixed their head-quarters at La Favorite; the grenadiers with a running fire, were advancing on the causeway, and even forming themselves into a column with the intention of taking Mantua by assault; when the batteries which lined the ramparts were shewn to them: "At Lodi," said they, "there were many more." But the circumstances being dissimilar, they were ordered to return.

General Augereau at break of day left Castiglione Mantovano. After he had crossed the Mincio beyond the lake, he advanced towards the suburb of Cheriale, carried the intrenchments, the tower, and forced the enemy to retreat within the walls of Mantua. A drummer, aged twelve years, singularly distinguished himself; during the hottest of the firing he climbed over the top of the tower to open its gate.

At San Georgio is a convent of nuns; being much exposed they abandoned their retreat, and some of the French soldiers posted themselves in it: no sooner had they passed the threshold, than the sound of groans struck their ears; they flew to an inner yard, and bursting open the door of a dismal cell, found a young lady seated on a decayed chair, whose arms were bound with iron chains; the affrighted girl begged for life, and her irons were immediately removed. She appeared to be about twenty-two years old,



and had been in that situation four years, for no other reason than because, that in a country, the seat of love, and in the years of exquisite sensibility, she had attempted to escape, and obey the tender impulses of her heart. The grenadiers took the best care of her, and she expressed much predilection for the French. She had been handsome, and to melancholy, the consequence of her misfortunes, she united the vivacity of the climate. On the entrance of any person into her cell, she appeared anxious and troubled: this was found to arise from the dread of seeing her former tyrants again. She intreated for God's sake to let her breathe the fresh air; and when told that showers of case-shot fell around her dwelling, "*Ah!*" she replied, "*to remain here is to me worse than death.*"

Determined to carry the war into the Tyrol, Bonaparte preceded his march by a proclamation:....

#### BONAPARTE, TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE TYROL.

*Head-Quarters Tortona, 26 Prairial, June fourteenth.*

"I am about passing through your territories, brave Tyrolians, to force the court of Vienna to a peace, as necessary to Europe, as to its own subjects. It is your own proper cause for which I am going to contend. How long have you suffered the fatigues and horrors of a war, undertaken not for the interests of the German people, but to glut the passions of a single family.

"The French army respects every people, but particularly the simple and virtuous inhabitants of the mountains. Your religion and customs shall ever be respected. Our troops



shall maintain the strictest discipline, and nothing will be taken in the country, without being paid for in specie. You will receive us hospitably, and we will treat you with fraternity and friendship.

“ But if there be any among you so lost to their true interests as to take up arms, and receive us as enemies, to them we shall be dreadful as the fire of heaven ; we shall burn the houses, and lay waste the country and villages of those who may take an active part in a war that concerns them not.

“ Beware of the agents of Austria, do not suffer them to lead you into error. Preserve your country, already afflicted by a five years war, from the woes which threaten it. The cabinet of Austria will be forced, by a peace, to return to the people the privileges which it has usurped, and to Europe the tranquillity which it has disturbed.”

New troubles arose in the Imperial fiefs in the neighbourhood of Genoa, Tuscany and Piedmont: Bonaparte's communication with the former place was threatened to be cut off, his convoys were attacked, his couriers murdered, and the French detachments slain in every part of the country. General Lasnes entered these dominions with 1,200 men, apprehended and shot the chiefs in the revolt, burnt their houses, and destroyed the domain of Arquata, whose owner had particularly distinguished himself in exciting the commotion.

In the mean time a column of the French army marched towards the lake of Coma, took the fort of Fuentes, and instantaneously demolished it.

General Augereau with his division, passed the Po on the 28th of Prairial, June sixteenth, and arrived at Bologna Messidor 1st, June nineteenth, in which town they captured 400 of the Pope's soldiers.

Bonaparte left Tortona Prairial 29th, June seventeenth, reached Modena Messidor 1st, nineteenth, ordered the garrison of the castle of Urbino, 300 men to surrender, and continued his route to Bologna.

A division of the French army marched immediately towards Ferrara and Faenza, which submitted to it and insured the conquest of Romagna.

General Vaubois proceeded from Reggio, and on the 8th of Messidor, June twenty-sixth, arrived at Pistoie; general Murat soon followed, at the head of the advanced guard, and passed the Arno at Fucechio; on the 10th, twenty-eighth, instead of continuing his progress towards Sienna, to which it was generally understood he was ordered, he suddenly changed his route and took the road to Leghorn. Bonaparte quitted Pistoie the same day, and commenced his march to join that column. All the property of any power with which France was at war, was seized, and a strong garrison stationed in that city. Bonaparte left it the next day, rested at Florence, and dined with the grand duke of Tuscany, accompanied by Berthier, and having with him part of his head guards.

In Romagna, a spirit of insurrection was

discovered, and Bonaparte feeling it necessary at once to repress it, on the 18th, July sixth, directed that Lugo, which was notified as the head-quarters of the disaffected, should be subdued. The insurgents would listen to no terms, upon which general Augereau attacked that town, and although the ambassador from Spain interposed, the spirit of the people could not be calmed. After a combat of three hours, in which the rebels lost a thousand men, and the French two hundred, the troops entered the town, pillaged it of every thing valuable, and sold the booty at auction in the market place.

Whilst these events were passing in Italy, general Beaulieu had been recalled by the Austrian government, all the troops in Carinthia and Styria had been sent by forced marches into the Tyrol, and general Wurmser was ordered to take 30,000 choice men from the Rhine, and assume the command of this new Italian army. These levies combined formed a body of 60,000 men.

After the battle of Borghetto, a few unimportant skirmishes took place, which tended only to secure to the French the preponderance which they had already obtained.

The siege of Mantua was continued; on the 28th July, sixteenth, early in the morning, 1,500 men from the garrison on one side, and 300 on the other, sallied out with the design of destroying the French batte-

ries, but after a skirmish of two hours they were forced to return unsuccessful. On the 30th, eighteenth, about midnight, a fierce attack was made upon the town by the besiegers, which burnt many buildings ; and in the morning the garrison rushed upon the camp before the town with great vigour, but the French bayonets resisted the shock and disconcerted all their designs.

At this juncture Bonaparte having finished the construction of the trenches, and the batteries being nearly ready to begin operations, demanded the surrender of the city, which was peremptorily refused.

On the 11th Thermidor, twenty-ninth of July, general Wurmser began his march against the French. He divided his army into three bodies. The right wing directed its course to Salo and Brescia ; the left towards the Po, whilst the centre advanced to the Mincio, to attack the front of the French army between Mantua and Peschiera.

The former forced the posts of Salo and Brescia ; the centre took Corona, obliged the French to evacuate Verona, and conquering all the French posts upon the Adige, drove them back as far as the Mincio. Bonaparte, at this crisis, was very nearly surrounded by the enemy ; he therefore on the 12th, thirtieth, raised the siege of Mantua, leaving behind him 134 pieces of cannon and 140,000 shells and balls. During the same night he



marched his troops to regain the positions from which the Austrians had expelled them.

A continued series of actions now took place. On the 13th, thirty-first, Lonado was re-taken: the next day Augereau entered Brescia, and found all the magazines just as the French had left them. On the 16th, third of August, there was a general battle, including the attack and defence of Salo, Lonado and Castiglione, which ended in the complete defeat of the Austrians; their loss consisted of 3,000 men killed and wounded, and 4,000 prisoners.

On the 17th a skirmish took place between general Dallemagne and the Austrians without much advantage to either of the armies.

General Wurmser having collected all his force, ranged his troops in order of battle, in the plain between Scanello and Chiusa. Bonaparte also ordered all his columns to re-unite, and repaired to Lonado with 1,200 men, to review his troops and to choose those whom he thought most suitable for the arduous duty before them. He had scarcely entered the town when he received a message summoning its commander to surrender, and representing that it would be folly to resist, as the place was on all sides surrounded, and that the great disparity of numbers would render all resistance ineffectual. Bonaparte directed the herald to be introduced into his presence. "Go tell your general," said Bonaparte, "that if he be desi-



“ rous to insult the French army, I am here,  
“ and he shall not do it with impunity: in-  
“ form him that I know he commands one  
“ only of the shattered columns which our  
“ troops cut off from his army; that if he dis-  
“ charge a single shot, and if his column do  
“ not lay down their arms in eight minutes  
“ after receiving this message, I will not give  
“ one man of them any quarter. Unbind  
“ the eyes of this gentleman, let him see  
“ the person who is speaking to him; let him  
“ behold general Bonaparte: there! tell  
“ your general what a prize he may make!  
“ Begone sir, begone!” The Austrian general desired to be heard, and proposed a capitulation. “ No,” rejoins Bonaparte, “ you are all prisoners of war.” The Austrians began to hold a consultation: Bonaparte ordered the light artillery to advance with the grenadiers, and to begin the attack: upon which the Austrian general exclaimed, “ We surrender!” This corps consisted of 4,000 men, and 50 Heulans, who with their artillery and colours were captured by the French.

The French continued their march during the night, and on the 18th, fifth, at day-break, saw the Austrians, whose line was defended by a large train of artillery. The French commenced the attack, and general Serrurier having proceeded towards Castiglione, and charged them in the rear, the Austrians retreated to the Mincio, leaving behind

them 800 prisoners, 18 pieces of cannon, besides 120 ammunition waggons.

On the 19th, sixth, the French entered Mincio, and Massena passed with his division to Peschiera, where the Austrians were encamped, attacked them in their intrenchments, forced them to fly, and took from them 12 pieces of cannon with 700 prisoners.

These various movements compelled the Austrians to raise the siege of Peschiera, and to quit their position on the Mincio. On the 20th, seventh, general Serrurier marched to Verona, which the van-guard of the Austrians still held; the gates were shut, and the draw-bridges lifted; the town was summoned to admit the French troops, which the governor peremptorily refused. The gates were now bombarded, and the French entered, capturing several hundred prisoners, and a considerable quantity of baggage.

This affair enabled the French to resume all their old positions.

During these operations, general Wurmser assisted Mantua with a large supply of ammunition and provisions. The whole loss of the Austrians on these five days, amounted, according to the account of Bonaparte, to 70 pieces of cannon, all their covered waggons, from 12 to 15,000 prisoners, and 6,000 killed or wounded. General Wurmser's account, transmitted to the Aulic council of war, allowed his loss to have been upwards of 17,000 men, including 391 officers.

In the course of this short expedition Bonaparte was exposed to great danger. The officer who commanded the Austrian flotilla on the lake of Garda, having on the 13th of Thermidor, July thirty-first, defeated that of the French, disembarked his troops in the peninsula of Cermione, and placed them in ambuscade on the road from Brescia to Peschiera. His soldiers had orders not to fire, and to stop no persons but such as might seem to be of consequence. In the evening, Bonaparte and Berthier, with their staff, returning from Brescia, passed along that road, preceded by three hussars. The croats who were in ambuscade, hearing some cavalry arrive at a quick rate, sprung on the high road, and fired on the three hussars. Two of them were killed, but the third having been missed, he turned his horse and cried out, "General, save yourself:" the whole party galloped off and escaped all the shots which were fired at them.

Not long after he was within two minutes of being captured by the Austrian hussars, at Goito.

The Austrians still occupied Corona and Montebaldo, upon which Bonaparte ordered Massena to march thither, who carried these two posts and Preabolo on the 24th, August eleventh. General St. Hilaire the next day attacked the posts of Roque and Anfonce, and after a slight skirmish at Lodron, took 1,100 prisoners and 6 pieces of cannon, with baggage.

General Wurmser having burnt his vessels on the lake of Garda, and evacuated Riva, fixed his head-quarters on the 2d of Fructidor, August nineteenth, two leagues above the Trent. On the 7th, twenty-fourth, general Sahaguet re-commenced the blockade of Mantua, and attacked the bridges of Governolo and Borgafort, of which he gained possession.

Bonaparte, according to his custom, issued a proclamation previous to his entrance into the Tyrol :

BONAPARTE TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE  
TYROL.

*“ Head-Quarters, Brescia, 13 Fructidor, August thirtieth.*

“ You solicit the protection of the French army. If you expect that protection you must shew yourselves worthy of it. Since the majority are well disposed, compel the few mal-contents who are among you to be peaceable. Their outrageous conduct has a tendency to bring upon their native country all the calamities of war.

“ The superiority of the French arms is now manifest. The Emperor’s ministers, bought by English gold, betray their country. That unfortunate prince commits an error in every measure which he adopts.

“ You wish for peace? The French are fighting for that object. We march into your territory for the express purpose of obliging the court of Vienna to accede to the prayer of desolated Europe, and to listen to the intreaties of the people.... We come not here with a view of extending our dominions. Nature has pointed out the limits of France by the intersection of the Alps and the Rhine; in the same manner she has placed the Tyrol as a line of demarcation for the house of Austria.

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“Tyrolians ! whatever your past conduct may have been, return to your habitations ! abandon the colours which have been so often disgraced, and which you are unable to defend.

“ The conquerors of the Alps and Italy are now opposed to an host of enemies. They are in pursuit of a few victims, whom the generosity of my country commands me to spare.

“ We are formidable in battle, but we are the friends of those who give us an hospitable reception.

“ The religion, the customs, and the property of the communes which submit, shall be respected.

“ The communes whose Tyrolian inhabitants have not returned on our arrival, shall be burnt ; the inhabitants seized as hostages and sent to France.

“ When a commune has submitted, the syndics shall be bound to deliver, in one hour after, a list of the inhabitants who are in the pay of the Emperor ; and if they should side with the Austrians, their houses shall be immediately burnt, and their relations arrested and sent to France.

“ The Tyrolians who shall co-operate with the enemy, and be taken with arms in their hands, shall be instantly shot.

“ The generals of division are charged with the strictest execution of this arret.

“ BONAPARTE.”

Bonaparte, who had been at Milan for several days, returned on the 15th, September first, to Verona, where he found that general Wurmser had stationed two-thirds of his army at Bassano, and the other third at Alla. In consequence of this intelligence, he ordered general Vaubois, on the 14th, second, to join a part of his division which had embarked at Salo ; general Massena to march towards Alla, and general Augereau repaired to the heights between Zugo and Rovera.



General Massena's advanced guard charged that of the Austrians at Alla, on the 17th, third, and routed them. The latter were posted at Marco, and seemed disposed to make a vigorous resistance. His instructions enjoined him to arrive before Serravalle on the 18th, fourth, but he anticipated his orders; general Pigeon, with the light infantry, attacked and forced the village in the night of the 17th, third. The next morning early, Massena begun the attack at Marco, and being supported by Vaubois at Mori, the Austrians after a few hours combat, retreated from their files and intrenchments, and fled in every direction. General Dubois pursued the Austrians, and decided the day, but received three balls which occasioned his death. One of his aides-de-camp fell at his side. Bonaparte hastened to the general as he was expiring, who looking at him, addressed him with great composure, "I die for the republic, and glory in my death: Is our victory complete?"..."It is," replied Bonaparte. "My last moments are then my sweetest," added the dying hero: "Success to our arms."

The Austrians retired to Roveredo, where general Wurmser had established a formidable line of defence, the centre of his army was supported by the castle of Colliano, his left was strengthened by a steep mountain, and his right by the Adige. The French troops had been fighting and marching the whole of the

three days before, yet this position could in so short a time have been rendered impregnable, that Bonaparte thought it most prudent to try the event of an action immediately. Orders being given, the soldiers were instantly formed into columns, and general Dammartin commenced the engagement with 8 pieces of light artillery, whilst the grenadiers penetrated to the intrenchments and cut down the barriers with their hatchets. On this the Austrians began their retreat, and being pursued by the cavalry, the victory was perfect....5,000 prisoners, 25 pieces of cannon, an immense quantity of cartridges, and other supplies fell into the hands of the French.

General Vaubois the same night joined Massena, who resumed the pursuit of the Austrians, and entered Trent on the 19th, fifth. Soon after their junction, Bonaparte directed the post of Lavis to be attacked, from which after an obstinate contest, the Austrians were dislodged with the loss of 400 men prisoners.

The Austrians after the battle of Roveredo, intrenched themselves in the village of Priemolan, their left covered by Brenta, and their right by some mountains in the vicinity. General Augereau, on the morning of the 21st, seventh, appeared before the Austrians, and after a severe conflict succeeded in driving them from the village. The latter, however, rallied again at the fort of Covelo, and made a formidable opposition to the progress

of the French division. But the attack was so well supported, and a body of French troops, covered by the incessant fire of some artillery, having attained the heights on the right of the Austrians, their resistance became ineffectual. The post was at length abandoned, and a detachment sent by Augereau having reached the head of the column, the whole were obliged to surrender. 4,000 prisoners, 10 pieces of cannon, 15 waggons, and several stands of colours were obtained by the French in this battle.

On the day following the French and Austrians met at the opening of the defiles of Brenta, and near the village of Solagna: the headquarters of the latter remained at Bassano. At 7 o'clock the action commenced; the strength of the position which the Austrians held, and the animation with which the presence of their generals inspired them, resisted the impetuosity of the troops under the command of Massena and Augereau for a considerable time; but their bravery eventually overcame every obstacle, the Austrians were routed, and the French continued their march to Bassano; having entered the village in two different quarters, and captured the division which defended the bridge, they forced their way through it, although impeded by a large body of Austrian grenadiers who opposed their progress with fixed bayonets. The Austrian army lost upon this occasion 5,000 prisoners, 25 pieces of cannon,

and a large quantity of baggage. The general himself, and the army treasure, with difficulty escaped.

General Wurmser compelled to retreat from Bassano, hastened to Montebello, where he joined a division of his army consisting of 4,500 cavalry and 5,000 infantry; in his march towards Mantua he attacked general Kilmain, who was stationed at Verona, but without success; for during forty-eight hours he opened a well-directed fire upon the Austrians, and repelled all their attempts to force his quarters. The 23d, ninth, at night, general Wurmser began his march along the banks of the Adige, and crossed it at Porto Legnago. Hence it appearing evident that the object of the Austrian general was to secure his retreat to Mantua, Bonaparte directed general Massena towards Porto Legnago, and Sahuguet to Castellano, to destroy all the bridges upon the Malinella.

The various movements made by Bonaparte to cut off the retreat of general Wurmser, were nevertheless, from the rapidity of the latter's progress, unsuccessful. The French who had made themselves masters of the bridge of Cerea, were obliged to retire from it with some loss, which opened a free passage to the Austrians, who on the 26th, twelfth, captured a body of several hundred French light-horsemen near Castellano, and continued their route.



Whilst these transactions employed the major part of the army, general Augereau with his division arrived on the 26th, twelfth, before Porto Legnago, and immediately invested it. The garrison speedily surrendered themselves prisoners of war, with 22 pieces of cannon. In the town they found and released the cavalry who had been captured at Castellano. General Massena left Castellano early in the morning of the 28th, fourteenth, and marched towards Mantua, with the intention of obtaining possession of the suburbs of St. George. A skirmish commenced about noon, which was attended with no other advantage than the confinement of the Austrians to narrower limits.

General Wurmser arrived under the walls of Mantua on the 26th, twelfth, with about 10,000 men, the remainder of an army which not more than six weeks before formed the finest body of Austrian troops that ever left Germany. The reverses which the Austrians experienced were not owing to want of bravery, or to want of ability in their leader, for all his conduct manifested his address, the courage of the soldier, and the skill of the general; his constancy, patience and intrepidity in this short but memorable campaign, acquired a lasting glory, which will attach to his name as long as the memory of his extraordinary opponent shall survive the lapse of time, and form an era in the historic page. The destruction of that army may be traced to the



separation of the Austrian generals ; Bonaparte knew that his force was vastly inferior to that of the Austrians, he therefore entirely dispersed or captured the third part under general Quosdanovich, before general Wurmser could assist him : and the energy which his own army acquired, added to the anxiety which their enemies must have felt, contributed in no small degree to his astonishing success.

The greater part of the garrison of Mantua sallied out on the morning of the 27th to protect La Favorite and St. George, whilst they endeavoured to procure food for their horses. Bonaparte directed his generals to endeavour to cut off all communication between the two forts, and between La Favorite and the citadel : these corps having begun the attack, the centre and left of the Austrians were charged, and the combat sustained with great spirit ; but the ardour of the French overturned all opposition, St. George was captured, and the Austrians retired into the city, having left behind them 2,000 prisoners, and about 1,000 killed or wounded, 25 pieces of cannon and some baggage.

A corps of Austrians advanced from Mantua towards Governolo, on the 2d Vendemiaire, September twenty-third, but the French were so active, that after a smart skirmish, 1,100 of them were made prisoners, with 5 pieces of cannon. The blockade of Mantua was completed on the 8th, twenty-ninth, and

the combats between the garrison and the besiegers were incessant.

Marmont, an officer of distinguished merit, and aid-de-camp to Bonaparte, was sent by him at this period to Paris with twenty-two stands of colours which had been taken from the Austrians; trophies which had recently conferred glory on the army of Italy. He was presented to the directory on the 10th of Vendemiaire, October first, by the minister of war, amidst the acclamations of a multitude of citizens, whom the ceremony had gathered together from every part of the republic.

The following address was pronounced by the minister of war :

“ CITIZENS DIRECTORS,

“ The army of Italy, always victorious, always triumphant, present you additional trophies of their ascendancy over the enemy.

“ The enemy, though conquered at Castiglione, were, by the accession of reinforcements, enabled to prepare another attack, and looked forward with the hope of repairing their losses; but they were awaited by our army, grown familiar with victory, and the battle of Saint-George completed their destruction.

“ Posterity will scarcely give credit to the historian who shall inform them that the entire conquest of Italy was effected in one single campaign by the army of the French republic: that three armies of the enemy were successively destroyed; that more than fifty stands of colours were taken from them by the conquerors; that forty thousand Austrians laid down passively their arms; and finally, that fifty thousand French,

under a warrior whose age did not exceed twenty-five years, achieved all these glories.

“The army of Italy has no more triumphs to obtain; our troops have run their career, and a noble one it has been. May their success, therefore, be transplanted to the armies of the Rhine; and may the enemy, whom temporary advantages can elate, learn that the soldiers of the republic are every where the same, and that combating for liberty, nothing can resist their impetuosity.”

Marmont then rose and delivered the following:

“CITIZENS DIRECTORS,

“Though the army of Italy have conquered the finest country in Europe, they have not done enough for France and their own glory. It yet remains for their warlike phalanxes to crush every enemy that shall take the field against them, before they yield themselves to the blessings of peace and repose.

“No sooner was an expedition projected, than the courage and perseverance of our troops, joined to their implicit confidence in the talents of the general in chief, promised always success. The army began its march; every obstacle was surmounted, every enemy overthrown, and difficulties vanished at their touch. The French, for the first time since their existence as a nation, arrived at the source of the Brenta, and penetrated into the city of Trent; thence changing suddenly their direction, they reached like a flash of lightning the rear-ranks of the Austrian army, and Bonaparte, their general, forced Wurmser to battle with the thunder of his artillery.

“An army fighting for liberty bears down all resistance. The Austrians were defeated, and those who escaped the fury of the French, threw themselves into Mantua, as their last resource. The concurrence of a few favourable circumstances, induced the Austrians once more to hazard a battle with their

enemy. The two armies engaged ; but the courage of our troops conspired with their exquisite discipline to give them their usual ascendancy ; the Austrians were driven back into Mantua ; some were slain, some wounded, and some taken prisoners.

“ Hence Wurmser, who sought an asylum in Mantua for the wreck of his army, and cherished the hope of being enabled to prolong its defence, found his expectations destroyed and his designs frustrated.

“ The twenty-two stands of colours which I have now the honour to present you Citizens Directors, are the illustrious monuments of the glory of my brethren in arms. They are the fruits of only fourteen days combat ; of the battles fought at Serravalle, Lavis, and the defiles of Brenta ; of our conquests at Roveredo, Bassano and fort Saint-George.

“ The army of Italy, during this brilliant campaign, have destroyed two armies, made forty-seven thousand prisoners, captured two hundred and eighty pieces of cannon, and taken forty-nine stands of colours. These achievements, Citizens Directors, are testimonies of our attachment to liberty and the republic ; performed by men who know their duty to their country, and who are not less zealous to obey than defend its noble laws. Consider the columns of our army the bulwarks of your liberty, of that liberty which expands every heart to gladness, and brightens every countenance into smiles.

“ I have also the honour to present you two stands of colours which we took from the troops of the Pope. We know that little honour is annexed to a victory over a man who was bred in the bosom of the church, and not in the camp ; but these colours will serve to testify the vigilance of the army of Italy, and the extent of their conquests.”

Revelliere-Lepaux, president of the directory, replied with great animation to the foregoing address :

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“ With a rapidity never yet equalled, the army of Italy flies from triumph to triumph, from glory to glory. Every day is distinguished by some brilliant success, every day brings new honours to the arms of the French.

“ Such heroic deeds, such mighty conquests, have rendered our soldiers not less dear to the friends of humanity than to the lovers of glory ; for their victories, while they reflect honour upon the arms of France, will compel the enemy to sue for peace.

“ Let therefore our thanks be distributed to the brave army of Italy, and to the superior genius who directs it. The Executive Directory, in the name of the French republic, receive with the most lively satisfaction the trophies which you present them, and charge you to deliver to your brave brethren in arms, the acknowledgements of the nation.

“ And you, youthful warrior, whose courage the general has often dwelt upon with energy, receive these arms (Marmont was presented with a brace of pistols) as a mark of the esteem of the Directory, and forget not that it is as glorious to use them in the defence of the republican constitution, as to meet the enemy with them in the field : for the maintenance of the laws is not less necessary to the happiness of the republic than the splendour of victory.”

A variety of disorders had existed in Italy during the summer. General Wurmser's arrival, and his momentary success, had emboldened those who were enemies to the French, to commit great depredations, and to murder all whom they could overcome. Bonaparte having now nothing to fear from the Austrians, immediately applied a remedy to these irregularities, and by the activity of general Gaunier soon dispersed all



those who were engaged in them, and prevented the forming any regular and extensive insurrections.

The anniversary of the foundation of the French republic was celebrated in Milan, with great pomp. Bonaparte and his lady were present to dignify the solemnity, and to enjoy the satisfaction which the esteem of the citizens imparted.

In the month of June two armistices had been concluded between the French republic and the king of Naples, and the Pope....the former was changed into a treaty of peace, whilst the latter was destroyed. The advantages which the French acquired by this treaty were immediately very great, as it divested them of all fear of a prince who could have marched a powerful army to the support of the Austrians. The Pope rejected the terms of peace offered to him, and thereby exposed himself to all the difficulties which some time after he experienced.

Bonaparte, who shines as a politician and legislator, equally as a warrior, had, whilst Mantua was blockaded, and after general Wurmser had shut himself up in that city, been employed in organizing the Italian republics. The revolutionary spirit had disseminated itself throughout Italy, and from the Austrian territories of Lombardy, and the Milanese, the duchy of Modena, &c. were formed the Cispadane and Transpadane republics. The emperor of Germany agitated

by this loss, and affected at the fate of the brave but unfortunate general Wurmser, determined to make another attempt to recover his possessions, and to liberate the garrison of Mantua. The regiments which had suffered so much by the last short contest were filled up, and 25,000 fresh troops joined with them.

This new army, which began to move on the 31st of October, was commanded by general Alvinzy, who with 30,000 men directed his course towards Bassano, whilst general Davidovich with 20,000 men, proceeded to Trent.

Bonaparte's forces were distributed at this time in the following manner: 15,000 men were cantoned on the banks of the Brenta; 10,000 defended Trent; and 25,000 blockaded Mantua. The whole of Bonaparte's army consisted of 50,000 men, whilst that of the Austrians, if we include the garrison of Mantua, exceeded 70,000, the greater part of whom were but lately arrived from Germany, and had not been fatigued by service.

Bonaparte when he began his retrograde march in pursuit of general Wurmser, had stationed one corps of troops in the Trentino, and another in Frioul, to observe and check the Austrians in those districts. On the 20th Vendemiaire, October 11, a party of Austrians tried to establish themselves at Castel-Franco, but they were repulsed by the French, and forced to resume their old posi-

tion beyond the Piave. General Alvinzy arrived on the banks of the Brenta on the 13th of Brumaire, November third, gained the passage of the river, and took his station at Bassano with 12,000 men; 12,000 were placed at Fonteniva under general Provera, and the rest maintained the communication with general Davidovich, part of whose army had been attacked by the French the day before, at St. Michael and Segonzano, had lost 1,500 men, although the resistance which they made and the spirit with which they maintained their situation was a considerable detriment to general Massena's division.

Bonaparte having united the divisions of Massena and Augereau, appeared in sight of the Austrians, who under general Provera had passed the Brenta. The armies fought with the greatest animosity, the combat was doubtful for a long time, and exceedingly sanguinary. The Austrians lost 4,000 killed and 500 prisoners, that of the French must have been very great; their object was however obtained, the former repassed the Brenta, and the bridge at Fonteniva was destroyed.

The two armies being posted in sight of each other, on the 22d, November twelfth, the French attacked the Austrians, and drove them from the village of Caldero, after a very severe conflict; but the Austrians regained the heights from which Massena had dislodged them, and a violent storm of hail, which

blew in the faces of the French army, finished the day, both armies remaining in their positions. Whilst these events occurred, the division under general Vaubois had been assailed by general Davidovich, and obliged to retreat with considerable loss; this action enabled the Austrians to recover Trent. Pursuing his advantage, general Davidovich continued his march, and the French general gave way until he was reinforced; upon which Bonaparte directed him to Castel-Nuovo.

General Alvinzi was hastening to Verona to join the divisions of his army in the Tyrol, when Bonaparte crossed the Adige, with the hope of being able to capture the Austrian artillery and baggage, and by attacking them in their flank and rear, at once to disperse the army, and to destroy the communication between the Austrian generals. Before the dawn of day on the 25th, fifteenth, the two divisions of Massena and Augereau had crossed the river, and continued their march over the marshes which presented on every side obstacles almost insurmountable. The Austrian general having discovered Bonaparte's object, sent a regiment of Croats, and several regiments of Hungarians, to defend the village of Arcole, strengthened equally by nature and art, situated amidst marshes and canals, and fortified by a numerous artillery.

That village impeded the progress of the French army during the whole day. The



Austrians defended with invincible obstinacy the dike which communicated with their position ; a canal which bordered the dike contributed to its natural strength, and there were no means left to drive the Austrians from this post, but to pass the bridge under the continual fire of all their artillery and musketry. In vain did the generals place themselves at the head of the French columns to lead them over the bridge ; they were nearly all wounded ; Verdier, Bon, Verne, Lasnes, were carried from the field of battle covered with wounds : Augereau now seized a standard, and rushed to the extremity of the bridge, but the unceasing storm of grape-shot forced him to retire. Bonaparte perceiving the probability that the bridge would not be passed in front, ordered general Guieux, with 2,000 men, to cross the Adige at Albaredo, and to attack the village in rear.

But the conquest of the village was of too much importance to induce Bonaparte to desist from the attempt ; he therefore repaired thither himself, with his whole staff, and addressing the troops, said, " Are you the men who so bravely forced the bridge of Lodi ? " This excited their enthusiasm, upon which he leaped from his horse, seized a standard, and marched to the bridge, at the head of the grenadiers, calling out " Follow your general." Although they had nearly reached the



bridge, yet the tremendous fire from the Austrians compelled them to retreat: two more of the generals were wounded, and one of Bonaparte's aides-de-camp killed. Bonaparte's horse was afterwards shot under him, and during the day he was continually exposed to the hottest of the fire: general Guieux's division did not arrive until midnight, when the Austrians were driven from the village, who joined the main body of the army; but the French immediately evacuated it, and prepared for the Austrians, whom they expected to meet the next morning in a general battle.

The Austrians having understood that general Guieux had withdrawn from Arcole, entered it again, and at break of day appeared there with all their collected force. They commenced the attack at every point, and the armies fought with inconceivable fury. The column under the command of general Massena resisted the Austrian charge with great firmness, and Augereau supported him but without much effect; the village was not retaken. During the night a plan was concerted by Bonaparte and executed.... on the 27th, seventeenth, the causeway on the left was attacked by the division of Massena, the front was attempted the third time by that of Augereau, and part of the garrison of Porto Legnago, with 1,500 horse, assailed them in the rear.

The attack was made early in the morning; Augereau was again repulsed, but Massena advancing to his succour, and the other detachment making a strong diversion in their favour, general Alvinzy upon the renewal of the attack was forced to abandon the village and its vicinity, and during the night retreated towards Vicenza; the French pursuing the flying Austrians and annoying their retreat.

During the battle on the third day, Bonaparte directed Hercules, the officer of his guides, to take twenty-five chosen men from his company, to pass the marshes which guarded the left wing of the Austrian army, and to approach their rear in full gallop, blowing their trumpets. This artifice succeeded, the Austrian infantry became confused, and 800 men coming upon them at this juncture, perfected the defeat of the day.

Thus ended one of the most bloody combats during the whole year. The Austrians were totally discomfited, whilst the loss of the French was very great; three days incessant fighting, in which every step of the French was disputed with great valour by the Austrians, manifests, as well as the number of high officers in the French army slain, that the battle of Arcole must have had a very important influence upon the remainder of the campaign.

On the night ensuing this long and dreadful battle, Bonaparte disguised himself in the

dress of an inferior officer, and traversed the camp. In the course of his round, he discovered a centinel leaning on the but-end of his musket in a profound sleep. Bonaparte taking the musket from under him, placed his head gently on the ground, and kept watch for two hours in his stead, at the end of which the regular guard came to relieve him. On awaking, the soldier was astonished at seeing a young officer doing duty for him; but when looking more attentively he recognised the commander in chief, his astonishment was converted into terror. "The general!....Bonaparte!" he exclaimed; "I am then undone." Bonaparte replied: "Not so, fellow-soldier: recover yourself: after so much fatigue a brave man like you may be allowed for a while to sleep, but in future choose your time better."

The following extract is from a letter written by Bonaparte, dated Verona, Brumaire 29th, nineteenth, and will assist us in forming a correct opinion of the terrific scenes which these three days combats exhibited.

"Never was a field of battle more obstinately contended for than that of Arcole. Every step of ground was disputed. I have scarcely a general left. I am deprived of my dearest friends: of the sharers of my toils, and the partakers of my triumphs. There are yet some surviving, whose worth must console me. General Lasnes, though not yet recovered from the wounds he received at Governolo, has resumed the fatigues of military duty. He was twice wounded during the first day of the battle. About three in the afternoon, when extended on his camp-bed fainting under the anguish of his wounds, word

was brought him that I had headed the column in person : he immediately caught new life from the intelligence, and forgetting the agony of his pain, threw himself from the bed, called for his horse, mounted him with some assistance, and rode up to my side through the hottest of the fight. Being yet too weak to act on foot, he kept his saddle, and animated the men by his presence. At the bridge of Arcole, however, he received another wound that smote him to the earth. How can soldiers be otherwise than invincible when they have such generals as Lasnes, Augereau and Massena to lead them on to battle."

After the sanguinary day of Arcole, Bonaparte wrote the following letters from Verona :

" TO GENERAL CLARKE.

"Your nephew, Elliot, was killed in the field of battle at Arcole. This young man was accustomed to the din of arms. He had often marched to the attack of places at the head of columns. He would have arrived at the highest summit of military preferment. He is dead ! but who would regret his death, when it is told he fell fighting valiantly in the face of the enemy ? On the contrary, what reasonable man does not envy his death ? We live in a world where the shield of rectitude cannot secure us from the envenomed shafts of calumny and detraction ; in a world where there is more to be endured than enjoyed ; where our comforts are, at the most, but fleeting and evanescent : where our best projects are often blasted by the adverse gale of fortune ; where the claim to excellence is disputed, and ambition construed into crime. The career of a life exposed to such numerous vicissitudes is surely well finished in the bed of honour and of glory."

" TO MADAME MUIRON.

"Muiron fell at my side in the field of battle at Arcole. You have lost a man whom you called by the endearing name



of husband, and I one whom I addressed by the title of friend. But our regrets are absorbed in the louder sorrows of his country, which has lost one of its warmest advocates, and ablest defenders. If I can be of service either to you or to your child, I have to entreat you will acquaint me without reserve. The action of the field has not so steeled my heart, but that I can sympathize with the widow, and feel for her offspring."

#### "TO THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORY.

"Citizen Muiron has served in the artillery from the commencement of the revolution. He eminently distinguished himself at the siege of Toulon, where he was wounded in storming an English redoubt.

"His father was at that time arrested by the government. Young Muiron presented himself at the bar of the national convention, covered with the blood that he had shed in fighting for his country. He demanded the freedom of his father. The senators, charmed with the magnanimity of the youth, released, in his presence, the venerable parent. It was an affecting scene.

"He obtained subsequently the command of the division of artillery that guarded the convention. He resisted every seduction of his acquaintances to wean him from the republic. I asked him if the government might rely on his fidelity: "Yes," said he, "I will support the republic with my heart's blood. I have entered into the army, because I know it to be its bulwark and defence. Whatever leader the republic appoints, I shall consider it my duty to obey. I am an enemy to all counter-revolutions, and to those that would put another monarch on the throne. My ancestors suffered persecution under kingly tyrants, and their injuries it becomes me to avenge.

"Muiron invariably conducted himself true to his principles. No man was more useful than he, in the day that brought liberty to our country. I was interested in his welfare, as he



contributed to me some very essential services in the field. From the beginning of the campaign in Italy, citizen Muiron acted as my aid-de-camp. He fell gloriously in the battle of Arcole, and has left a widow to deplore his death, who is far advanced in pregnancy."

General Davidovich, whilst the battle of Arcole continued, was making progress towards Mantua; he, on the 27th of Brumaire, seventeenth, attacked and defeated general Vaubois, constrained him to retreat from the heights of Rivoli; repeated his attack on the 28th, eighteenth, and the French falling back, he hastened towards Castelnuevo.

Bonaparte, having been informed of the success which accompanied Davidovich, resolved to meet him, and on the 1st of Frimaire, twenty-first, ordered an attempt to be made upon the Austrians, which was prosperous; for after a considerable contest the latter fled, leaving 1,100 prisoners, some cannon and baggage.

General Wurmser, amidst these battles, had attempted three sorties, but the French under general Kilmaine were so strongly supported, and the cannonading of the besiegers so regular, that they failed in each sortie, except the procuring a small quantity of provisions.

During the fifteen days which employed the French and Austrian armies in this last expedition, Bonaparte's skill was peculiarly evident: his exertions were very great; his attacks were incessant; and his time was al-

ways occupied in improving any advantages which by the uncommon bravery of his troops, he had acquired. His army was considerably fewer in number than that of the Austrians, yet he found means to destroy one half, to disperse the remainder of them, and to maintain the blockade of Mantua.

As the Venetians had been very active in succouring general Alvinzy's army, Bonaparte took possession of Bergame, to awe the inhabitants around, and to insure the regularity of a communication between the Adda and the Adige.

The French and Austrian armies continued for some time, in a state of perfect inaction. The former were engaged in the blockade of Mantua, whilst the latter were too weak to effect any enterprize which could relieve the garrison.

The Pope, in this interval, ordered a body of troops to Faenza, raised them soon after to 20,000 men, and gave the command to General Colli, late chief of the Sardinian troops.

Mantua was now reduced to its last extremity, when general Wurmser captured some boats laden with provisions and ammunition for the French army. This delayed the surrender, but it was apparent that it could not be avoided, without some speedy relief, as the garrison had then consumed the greater part of their horses.

General Laudohn, with the right wing of general Davidovich's army, on the 29th of Frimaire, December thirteenth, began to reconnoitre, and examined as far as Brescia; a body of troops was detached by general Alvinzy at the same time, towards Ferrara and Bologna, to cover the Pope's territories, and to induce Bonaparte to weaken his centre.

The Austrian army at the commencement of the year 1797, was reinforced by a large body of troops sent by the Emperor of Germany to general Alvinzy, among whom were a corps of volunteers, composed of the youths of the first families in Vienna. General Wurmser on the 9th of Nivose, twenty-ninth, had vigorously assailed the French troops, but in vain; he had no resource but to return to the fortress, the garrison of which was much diminished by sickness and duty. This sortie, however, favoured the escape of an English colonel, who after six days, having eluded the French patrols, arrived at the Austrian head-quarters. The information which he gave general Alvinzy of the wants of the garrison, and the utter impossibility of their subsisting one month longer without a supply of provisions, actuated the Austrian general instantly to execute the projected operations.

This fifth army considerably exceeded 50,000 men, of whom 10,000 were commanded by general Provera, who was before Pa-

dua; 10,000, the centre, were at Bassano; and 25,000 were in the Tyrol under the immediate orders of general Alvinzy. The former was to attack the French on the Adige, the centre to proceed against Verona, and the grand army to begin to move in the Tyrol. The French army also had received some reinforcements, but it was vastly inferior to that of general Alvinzy; Bonaparte's whole force did not amount to 40,000 men.

General Provera, in conformity to the arrangement made by the commander in chief, left Padua on the 18th of Nivose, January seventh, 1797, and directed himself against Porto-Legnago. The next day he commenced his operations by a vigorous attack upon the French posts, from which the latter were driven and forced to retire to Berilaqua: a reinforcement was now brought to assist the French, but without success, as they were obliged to retreat to Porto-Legnago, to join Augereau, who commanded 10,000 men. The Austrian general followed up his success, and on the 20th, ninth, had arrived upon the Adige, which he must necessarily cross before he could reach Mantua.

Bonaparte was at Bologna when he was informed of the march and advantages which general Provera had anticipated. Having ordered the 2,000 men who were with him to repair to the Adige, he departed for Verona, and arrived there just as the Austrians had attacked the French under Massena. A ve-



ry brisk action ensued, which was not favourable to either army, although the French took 600 prisoners and 3 pieces of cannon, and obliged the Austrians to retreat towards the mountains, whilst they resumed the same position before Verona.

General Alvinzy marched on the 22d, eleventh, to Montebaldo, and attacked part of the French line the following day, but could not conquer the intrenchments; on the 24th, thirteenth, having assailed the French in their rear, they succeeded in obtaining possession of the redoubts of Corona, which induced general Joubert to join the troops at Rivoli, the strongest post which the French held on the Upper Adige.

Bonaparte received information of these events the same evening; and it appearing that general Alvinzy meant to pierce through Rivoli, he directed a considerable force to march there, and himself with the staff arrived about midnight. They immediately posted themselves before the town, took possession of St. Mark, the only point between the Adige and the lake of Garda by which the Austrians could pass, and the general with his officers examined the situation of the Austrian army until day appeared.

General Alvinzy, who had prepared for a general attack on the next morning, spent also the night in making his dispositions. Presuming that Bonaparte could not arrive to assist general Joubert before this attack, he had



indulged the hope of being able to cut him off, by dispatching a column in his rear to hinder any reinforcements from joining him. In conformity with the arrangements made by the French general, Joubert commenced the battle about 4 o'clock in the morning, and the conflict was extremely obstinate. The Austrians repulsed the left wing of the French army, and were upon the point of forcing it to retreat, when Bonaparte arrived with a small corps, and animated them to maintain their position. The French centre sustained a vigorous attack from the main body of the Austrians, which was collected, having injured the French left wing, to oppose the junction of the right under Joubert with the rest of the army. Whilst the Austrians employed all their strength to gain possession of the cannon which was stationed in the front of the column in the centre, one of the French captains rushed forward, exclaiming to the men who followed him, "They shall not take our cannon from us, soldiers; shall it be said that the fourteenth lost their artillery?" Massena arriving at this juncture, the French retook all the posts from which they had been driven, and prepared to renew the contest.

A column of Austrians now appeared, and by expecting to capture Rivoli, threatened the rear of the French centre and right wing. They had established themselves on the heights which command Rivoli, and conquered

some of its strongest posts. Bonaparte having perceived that in descending from the heights the Austrian troops maintained little order in their ranks, directed the grenadiers to charge the platform, whilst a small column of cavalry assailed them in the rear. This movement was attended with complete success; the Austrians were forced to evacuate Rivoli with the loss of their cannon; but the centre of their army continued the contest, and a body of four thousand men having ranged themselves in order of battle in the rear, the French were totally surrounded and the communication between the army and Verona, and the lake of Garda entirely destroyed. The two armies were so near to each other upon this occasion, that the French heard the Austrians saying one to another, "We shall soon put them to flight."

The intrenchments at Rivoli now became the prize, the possession of which would decide the fate of the day. The Austrians captured them thrice, but all their efforts to hold them were unsuccessful; for at this crisis Bonaparte ordered some light artillery to cannonade the right wing of the Austrians, which had been turned. Generals Brune and Monnier, with a small detachment in three columns, were dispatched to dislodge the Austrians from the heights which they occupied, and which afforded much assistance to the other corps fighting in the intrenchments. This desperate service they perform-

ed: advancing with recovered arms, and singing "*The Song of Departure*," they arrived within gun-shot of the Austrians, and immediately fell upon the posts with the utmost fury. The violence of the assault so confounded the Austrians, that they fled in the utmost disorder towards the lake of Garda ; and being accosted by a small body of fifty marksmen only, who were trying to join the French army, they surrendered themselves and delivered up their arms.

The following extract is from a letter written by citizen Rene, the captain of those fifty men to his father, detailing that event.

"The 25th, in the morning, general Monnier asked me whether I would remain in the village of Garda with fifty men, to keep an eye upon the lake and to favour a disembarkation. I told him I would. About four o'clock, just as I had visited a little post that I had stationed in advance, seven Austrians appeared. I ordered the post to charge and endeavour to take them, while I should run back to collect the rest of my detachment. I assembled it, and was beginning a march from the village, when I beheld my little post bringing along with them the seven prisoners. Apprehensive of being soon attacked, I was just about to dispose of my men in an advantageous position, when, how great was my surprise to observe an Austrian column turning the defile ! The commander ordered me to lay down my arms, and told me that I was his prisoner. 'No Sir,' cried I, '*'tis you that are mine. I have already disarmed your advanced guard, of whom you here behold a part. Lay down your arms, or by the god of war I will give you no quarter.*' My soldiers, encouraged by my example, repeated this injunction. The prisoners, perceiving that at the first fire they should be killed, cried aloud to their comrades to surrender

themselves prisoners. This tumult astonished the Austrian commander. He was desirous to parley. 'No,' exclaimed I, 'lay down your arms.' He offered to capitulate. 'No,' rejoined I, 'lay down your arms.' 'But, Sir,' said he, 'if I surrender shall I not have cruel treatment to undergo?' I gave him my word of honour that he should not. He pulled off his hat, advanced, presented me his sword, and the whole troop laid down their arms. I was not, however, yet without disquietude. I was apprehensive that he would perceive the diminutiveness of my force. I made it take a retrograde motion : but scarcely had we gotten to the borders of the lake when we descried a body of imperialists embarking in two large boats, who gained the stream, without our having the power to prevent them ; but, being overloaded, and getting into the eddy, the boats went down, and the troops were drowned. A minute or two afterwards, several of the Austrians refused to march : nor did the officers seem disposed to obey our injunctions. I felt the criticalness of my situation, but particularly when I heard a captain say, 'Don't let us go on.' 'What's that you say, sir,' exclaimed I, raising my voice. 'Where is your honour? Are you not a prisoner? Have you not delivered up your arms? Have I not your word? You are an officer....I confide in your loyalty....To convince you that I do, I return you your sword, and command you to make your troop begin a march. I shall otherwise be compelled to make the column of six thousand men act against you that is now in my rear.' The word honour, but, above all, the mention of the pretended column in my rear, produced the desired effect. 'I am going to convince you, sir,' said the officer, putting his hand to his breast, 'that I know what honour means as well as most of my cloth. It is the noble mind's distinguishing perfection. Make only the signal, sir, of departure, and I will answer for it the whole troop shall advance.' He then addressed his people in German, who immediately assumed an air of obedience, and prosecuted their route. We arrived without any other accident. This column was compos-



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ed of a regiment of the imperial line, and a body of auxiliary troops, forming collectively eighteen hundred men."

Bonaparte victorious in front, detached a considerable force against the corps of Austrians who remained at Corona. Being attacked by several columns in front and rear, there was no resource but to surrender, or to force their way through, sword in hand. They attempted the latter, but in vain; and after an unsuccessful contest the whole body laid down their arms on the 26th, fifteenth. The French accounts made the number of prisoners 6,000, whilst the Austrian general states them at four. The following extract from a private letter, relating his situation, written by that commander, cannot be unacceptable.

" I had the command of the first column, consisting of four thousand men, without a single horse or cannon, each soldier and officer on foot, provided with iron cramps, preceded by pioneers to break the ice. I marched thus during two days and two nights without halting, over rocks covered with snow, and without finding a single bush with which to make a fire. The third day, after a march equally severe, but through a country less dismal, I succeeded according to the general plan, in turning the position of the enemy, who were intrenched at Rivoli on the banks of the Adige. Whilst I made this movement with my corps, three columns attacked the intrenchments of Rivoli in front and carried them. The enemy retook them, and we again succeeded in driving them out; but by one of those inexplicable fatalities peculiar to the Austrian army in Italy, the three columns which had attacked in front having once more lost the intrenchments, my column found



itself cut off and abandoned by the rest of the army. I had now nothing left but to cut my way through the enemy, for I could not bring myself to capitulate. Without cannon or cavalry I had to make my way through a victorious army, which attacked me with all the advantage arising from numbers, from the ground, and from the nature of their arms....accordingly the greater part of my troops was either killed or taken. Almost all the staff officers of my corps were wounded and made prisoners."

"Seeing no longer any means of rejoining our army, which had retired to the mountains, I turned with ten officers towards the lake of Garda, upon the borders of which I remained shut up in a country house for two days and two nights, in order to escape the French patrols in search of us. On the third night I threw myself into a boat with my officers, and in spite of the vigilance of the French feluccas we succeeded in passing through them by dint of rowing, and happily arrived at Torbole, where there was an Austrian garrison."

Bonaparte not hearing from general Augereau, now conjectured that the intercourse was obstructed, and immediately visited Rivoli, Verona and Castelnovo, where he received information that 10,000 Austrians had crossed the Adige at Anguillari, and forced general Guieux after a slight skirmish to retreat to Ronco. The general then proceeded to Villa Franca with a detachment of troops, and there learnt from general Serrurier that the Austrians were at Castellana, on their way to Mantua. Upon the route a regiment of French dragoons came in sight of an Austrian squadron, and the two commanders fought with their own swords, which was the signal for a general

contest ; it continued a short time only, the French being victorious, and the whole of the Austrians captured.

On the 25th, fourteenth, Bonaparte arrived at Roverbella, and found that Augereau had collected his forces to attack general Provera ; but the latter marched towards Mantua with such rapidity that the French could charge his rear guard only, the whole of whom were defeated and made prisoners, with a large quantity of ammunition. The Austrian general, with his force diminished to about 6,000 men, reached the vicinity of St. George on the 26th, fifteenth, at noon. He attempted to carry that post during the remainder of the day, but without any effect. General Miolis, who defended it, was immediately summoned by general Provera to surrender....he replied, "*that he was sent there to fight, not to surrender.*"

General Provera, on the 26th, sixteenth, had contrived to concert an attack upon La Favorite, whilst general Wurmser should make a sortie to assist him with the garrison. The latter left the citadel before the dawn of day, and captured St. Anthony ; he then marched to La Favorite, and exerted himself to the utmost to force the intrenchments. General Provera attacked the post on his side....but the incessant fire from the intrenchments repelled every attempt, and whilst these useless efforts were making to storm the lines of the blockade, the French were surrounding the Aus-

trian corps. General Miolis then sallied out from St. George, and advanced in front against the Austrians. Finding all resistance unavailable, and desirous to preserve the lives of his soldiers, general Provera proposed a capitulation, to which Bonaparte assented; 6,000 foot and 700 horse were made prisoners, and 20 pieces of cannon delivered to the French. Among the prisoners was the volunteer corps of young gentlemen from Vienna, whose colours had been embroidered and presented them by the Empress of Germany in person.

Thus in the short space of eight days, the fifth Austrian army opposed to Bonaparte was entirely discomfited. The French captured 44 pieces of cannon, and nearly 20,000 men were prisoners. The victory of La Favorite decided the fate of Mantua, and left general Wurmser with no hope of relief...the garrison were now reduced by want, sickness and fatigue, and there being no possibility of escape, he began to reflect upon the propriety of surrendering it.

General Alvinzy, in consequence of the defeats which he had experienced, was incapable of any offensive operations, and unable to maintain the positions which his army held, was anxious concerning its preservation only. He retreated into the defiles of the Tyrol, whilst his troops marched towards the Tervisano. General Massena removed on the 5th of Pluviose, January twenty-fourth, to the vicinity

of Bassano, which the Austrians manifested a design to defend; a skirmish ensued, and the French gained a slight advantage. On the 6th, January twenty-fifth, in the night, the Austrians evacuated their intrenchments, and hastened to Carpedenolo; which movement induced Massena to dispatch a column in pursuit, who overtook the Austrians at that village, and after a smart engagement took 900 of them prisoners. General Joubert also put his division in motion, and having charged the Austrians at Ario, captured 400 of them.

These divisions of the French army continued their progress generally, without opposition, and took possession of Torbole, Roveredo and Trent immediately as the Austrians retired from them: in the latter they found 2,000 Austrians, sick or wounded, and in their retreat made 1,800 of them prisoners. The Austrians took a strong defensive position behind the Adige, Lavis and Piave; their line extended from Bolzano to the mouth of the Piave: one body of the army covered the Tyrol, another and the principal corps Friuli; whilst the third was stationed between the two latter rivers. In this situation, defended by three rivers, and a chain of inaccessible mountains, the Austrians collected themselves together, and waited for reinforcements.

Mantua is said to have been built by the Etrurians before the Trojan war, and is situated upon a lake formed by the Mincio.



The city is large, neatly built, and adorned with many costly buildings. Whilst in possession of the dukes of Mantua, and previous to the destruction of that family in 1707, it contained upwards of 50,000 inhabitants, at present their number does not exceed 30,000. It has always been fortified, and its peculiar situation has rendered it in all Italian wars a place of the utmost importance. Open force and military operations have seldom or never reduced it; its surrender has principally been owing to a blockade, and the want of provisions. The fortifications are not its principal defence; that consists in the difficulties which oppose the progress and attacks of an enemy. The city is entirely encompassed by water and marshes, and can be entered by three bridges or causeways only, each of which has strong works erected at its extremities. These avenues communicate with the suburbs St. George, St. Anthony and La Favorite, which may be defended, and without the possession of which a besieging army can do nothing effectual. If the suburbs be conquered, the blockade may be supported, but the part of the town upon which any trenches may be opened is so narrow that a regular siege is scarcely practicable. The waters of the lake stagnate in the summer time, and become thereby so unwholesome, as to induce those inhabitants who can afford the expence to leave it for that season.



Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, Bonaparte commenced the blockade of Mantua on the 30th of Messidor, eighteenth of July, 1796, and it had been continued nearly seven months: the garrison had suffered every species of privation, and exerted all their powers to effect a junction with the Austrian army. So destitute were they of food, that 5,000 horses had been killed for their subsistence. In this situation general Wurmser proposed to surrender, and the terms which were granted to him evinced the high respect which Bonaparte felt for his character; and were equally honourable to the victor and to the conquered. The capitulation was signed on the 14th Pluviose, February second; the French entered the citadel the next day, and the Austrian army proceeded on their march to Goritz in Tyrol. By this convention it was agreed that general Wurmser, all the generals, staff officers, 200 cavalry and 500 individuals to be selected by the general, should not be prisoners of war, and should return home with six pieces of cannon and artillerymen; the generals retained their swords and baggage, the privates of the infantry their knapsacks, and those of the cavalry their cloak-bags. Bonaparte's eulogy on general Wurmser is too interesting to be omitted; it is contained in a letter which he wrote to the directory, dated Faenza, Pluviose 15th, February third.

“ I have an earnest desire to shew general Wurmser every generosity in my power ; who, whether his years or valour be considered, is eminently entitled to it. Fortune has been very cruel to him during the whole of the campaign, but he has notwithstanding, exhibited a courage and constancy which will give dignity to the page of the impartial historian.

“ Surrounded on all sides after the battle of Bassano by our army, and cut off from a considerable part of his own, he cherished the design of seeking refuge in Mantua, from which he was very remote, and effectually executed it by surmounting every obstacle which opposed his passage ; by passing the Adige, overthrowing our advanced posts at Cerea, and traversing with vigour the waters of the Molinella. From Mantua he made several sorties which he always headed in person ; and had to encounter besides the obstacles which the circumvallation of our line presented, a disinclination of his soldiers for combat, from the frequency of their defeats, the horrors of famine, and the calamities of disease.”

The surrender of Mantua afforded Bonaparte a favourable opportunity to address his troops ; this duty he executed a few days after the occurrence of that event, by publishing the following abridgement of what his army had atchieved, and what he expected them still to perform.

#### BONAPARTE TO THE SOLDIERS OF THE ARMY OF ITALY.

*Head-Quarters, Bassano, 20th Ventose, March tenth.*

“ The capture of Mantua has almost given the finishing stroke to a campaign which has entitled you to the eternal gratitude of your country.

“ You have proved victorious in fourteen pitched battles and in seventy engagements. You have taken more than a hundred thousand prisoners. You have also obtained from the

enemy five hundred field pieces, and two thousand large cannon.

“ The contributions levied on the countries which you have conquered, have supported, maintained and paid the army during the whole campaign. You have, moreover, sent thirty millions to the minister of finance, for the increase of the public treasury.

“ You have enriched the Museum of Paris with above three hundred subjects, master-pieces of ancient and modern Italy, the production of which has been the labour of thirty ages. You have conquered for the republic the finest countries of Europe. The republics of Lombardy and Cispadane are indebted to you for their liberty. The colours of France, for the first time, wave on the Adriatic shores, opposite and within twenty-four hours sail of ancient Macedonia. The kings of Sardinia and Naples, the Pope, and the duke of Parma, are detached from the coalition of our enemies, and are leagued in friendship with us. You have chased the English from Leghorn, Genoa and Corsica ; but you have not yet finished your career. A more splendid atchievement is in reserve for you : in you the country places its dearest hopes, continue to deserve its confidence.

“ Amongst all the enemies who coalesced to stifle the republic in its birth, the Emperor alone is opposed to us. This prince, degrading himself from the rank of a great potentate, is in the pay of the merchants of London. He is actuated by no other policy, has no other will, than that of the perfidious islanders, who being themselves strangers to the horrors of war, smile with pleasure at the miseries of the continent.

“ The executive directory have spared no endeavours to give peace to Europe : the moderation of their proposals was not dictated by the strength of their armies ; they did not consult your courage, but followed the impulse of humanity, and a desire to behold you in the bosoms of your families : their voice has

not been heard at Vienna, and there is no other hope for peace, but by seeking it in the heart of the hereditary states of the house of Austria. You will there find a brave race oppressed by the wars against the Turks, and by the present war. The inhabitants of Vienna and the states of Austria groan under a superstitious and arbitrary government. There is no one who doubts that the ministers of the Emperor have been corrupted by the gold of the English. You will respect their religion, their customs, their property—remember it is *liberty* you are carrying to the brave Hungarians.

“ The house of Austria, which for three ages has been diminishing its power by wars, has excited the discontents of the people, by depriving them of their privileges ; it will find itself reduced, at the end of the sixth campaign, since it forces us to commence it, to accept such a peace as we shall be pleased to grant ; and will descend in reality to the rank of a secondary power, in which it has already placed itself by submitting to be in the pay and at the disposal of England.

“ BONAPARTE.”

The reduction of Mantua expelled the Austrians from Italy, and completed the triumphs of the French army. Bonaparte had previous to that event determined upon chastising the Roman government for the duplicity which it had manifested. Whilst bound by an armistice to maintain peace, the court of Rome were exciting revolts among the Italians, fomenting divisions between the different principalities, and endeavouring to persuade the Emperor to continue the contest with vigour, with a promise to assist him by a diversion in his favour with their own



troops. The Pope's secretary of state, cardinal Busca, had written a letter to the legate at Vienna, proving himself to have possessed all that deceit and cunning which have always distinguished the bishoprick of Rome. This letter Bonaparte intercepted, and it determined him to proceed to immediate operations, that the cabal of intriguers at Rome might be entirely destroyed, and be no longer permitted to continue their deceptive machinations.

When the French had begun their march into the Papal dominions, Bonaparte issued a declaration dated Pluviose 15th, February the third, stating the ground of his conduct, and the dissimulation which the ecclesiastical government had manifested; to which he added an address enjoining the utmost obedience to the French authority, and threatening all, especially the priests, with tremendous punishment in case of disobedience.

In conformity with the dispositions made by Bonaparte, general Victor advanced to Priola, the nearest of the Roman towns, and slept in it on the 13th of Pluviose, February the first. The next day he marched to attack Faenza, in the front of which the Papal troops were intrenched behind the river Senio, and after a very slight resistance, the Pope's soldiers fled, leaving behind them 14 pieces of cannon and 1,400 men, killed, wounded and prisoners. The French immediately traversed Romagna, took Forti, Cesenna, entered the dutchy of Urbino and captured Ancona, with



a very large quantity of arms and ammunition which they found in it. The famed chapel of Loretto was also seized by the French, but the greatest part of the valuables had been removed by Colli, the commander of the Papal forces. Bonaparte gives the following list of some of the "*adorable*" articles which his troops discovered there: "A wooden image of the pretended Madona....the vestiges of an old garment, said to have been the gown of the Virgin Mary....three old broken porringers of delft-ware, reported to have been part of her culinary utensils, and which have every appearance of having been made 20 or 30 years ago."

It is proper to remark here that plunder and devastation formed no part of Bonaparte's scheme when attacking the Pope's dominions: his sole object was to secure himself from all fears of attack from that quarter, and hence he proposed and definitively adjusted a peace.

The French ecclesiasticks who had emigrated in 1791 and 1792, received at this critical moment much kindness from Bonaparte. By a proclamation which he issued, he forbade under the severest penalties, all attempts to injure them; directed that they should be maintained at the expence of the convents; and added that the melioration of their situation through the kindness of the bishops and others would afford him great pleasure.

Bonaparte continued his progress towards Rome, and entered Foligno and Macerata:

from the latter town, distant about 120 miles from Rome, he wrote to cardinal Mattei :

“I have traced, reverend Cardinal, in the letter which you did me the honour to write me, that simplicity of manners which is your distinguishing characteristick. I now subjoin the reasons that have urged me to break the armistice concluded between his holiness and the republic of France.

“No person is more persuaded of the sincere desire that the French have to make peace than cardinal Busca, which is obvious from the tenour of his letter to M. Albani. It was a subject of raillery to the enemies of France, when it was signified that the first powers of Europe would come forward to acknowledge the republic, and treat with her for peace. But the world is awakened from its delusion.

“His holiness has yet one refuge left: he may save his states by proposing a pacifick negociation, and throwing himself upon the generosity of the French republic.

“I know that his holiness has been deceived. I would wish to convince Europe of the moderation of the executive directory of the republic of France, in granting the Pope five days to send a negociator, invested with full powers, to Foligno, where I shall be found, and where it will be my study to exemplify the consideration that I have for his holiness. But, whatever may happen, be persuaded, reverend Cardinal, of the distinguished esteem with which I have the honour to be, &c.”

The French head-quarters were immediately removed to Tolentino, which filled Rome with terror. All the riches of the city were conveyed to Naples and Terracina, and the higher ranks of the citizens were preparing to leave it, when the Pope wrote to Bonaparte:

PIUS. P. VI.

*“ Dear Son, Health and Apostolick Benediction.*

“ Being desirous amicably to terminate our existing differences with the French republic, by the retreat of the troops which you command, we send and depute to you as our plenipotentiaries, two ecclesiastics, cardinal Mattei, with whom you are intimately acquainted, and Mon Signor Galeppi; and two laymen, the duke Don Louis Braschi our nephew, and the marquis Camillo Massimi, who are invested by us with full power to concert with you, to promise and subscribe such conditions as we hope will be just and reasonable, binding ourselves by our faith and word to ratify and approve them in special form, that they may at all times be valid and inviolable. Being assured of the sentiments of good faith which you have manifested, we have abstained from any removal from Rome, and by that you will be persuaded how great is our confidence in you. We conclude by assuring you the paternal Apostolical Benediction.

“ PIUS VI.

“ St. Peters, Rome, February 12th.”

On the 1st of Ventose, February nineteenth, the treaty of peace was signed, upon which occasion Bonaparte wrote to the Pope :

BONAPARTE TO POPE PIUS VI.

“ MOST HOLY FATHER,

“ I have to thank your holiness for the obliging expressions contained in the letter which you did me the honour to write me.

“ The treaty of peace has just been signed between your holiness and the republic of France. I felicitate myself upon having, in any measure, contributed to your tranquillity and repose.

“ I would recommend your holiness to disclaim the officious

friendship of certain persons at Rome, who are not less the foes to your interest than the enemies of France.

“ The pacifick virtues of the disposition of your holiness are known to all Europe. You will, I trust, find the French republic one of the sincerest friends to Rome.

“ I have sent my aid-de-camp to express to your holiness the perfect esteem and veneration which I hold for your person : and I have to intreat you to rely on the perfect deference with which I have the honour to be, &c. &c.”

Cardinal Mattei announced the conclusion of the treaty to cardinal Busca, by the following billet :

“ The treaty is signed, and I now speed a courier to your eminence with the intelligence. The conditions are hard, and resemble the capitulation of a place that has been besieged. It is dictated in the tone of a conqueror, and I trembled for his holiness, for Rome, and for the state. Rome however is saved, as well as her religion, notwithstanding the sacrifices which have been made. We will attend you soon.

A. C. MATTEI.

*“ Tolentino, February 19, 1797.”*

By this treaty of peace the Pope renounced the coalition, agreed to disband his troops, and to close his ports against the ships of the enemies of the republic ; ceded Avignon, Venaissin, Bologna, Ferrara and Romagna to France ; consented to pay 31,000,000 of livres in addition to the five before paid ; to deliver the paintings, statues and manuscripts directed by the armistice, and permitted the French to retain Ancona until a continental peace might be established.



Whilst Bonaparte was engaged in adjusting a peace with the Pope, a sixth Austrian army had with great difficulty been collected by the Emperor; new battalions were raised; to these, several divisions of the army from the banks of the Rhine were added, and the command given to the Arch-Duke Charles, who in his contest with general Moreau had acquired considerable reputation. The directory had also ordered a number of battalions from the Rhine under general Bernadotte to join Bonaparte, who found upon his return from Tolentino that hostilities had been renewed.

Bonaparte, when he had traversed the dutchy of Urbino, thought of restoring tranquillity to the republic of Saint-Morino, which was surrounded by his troops. He invested Citizen Monge with this office, of whose mission he gave the Directory the following account:

BONAPARTE TO THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORY.

*"Head-Quarters, Tolentino, Ventose 1, February nineteenth.*

"You will find subjoined, Citizens Directors, the report of Citizen Monge, whom I sent to Saint-Marino, with the discourse which he pronounced. When I get to Rimini I will transmit you a memoir of the demands which accompanied it, with what I shall have done to testify for that ancient republic the esteem and consideration of the republic of France."

The following discourse was pronounced before the two regent-captains of the republic of Saint-Marino, by the deputy to the chief general of the army of Italy.



“CITIZENS REGENTS,

“Liberty, which during the prosperous days of Athens and Thebes, transformed the Greeks into a people of heroes ; which in the time of the Roman republic brought glory to the Romans, and during the short interval that, in later ages, she cheered part of Italy with her presence, caused science to lift her head, and stones to leap to form ; this goddess was afterwards, banished many centuries from Europe, and sought an asylum in Saint-Marino, where she was received by the inhabitants with open arms, and has blessed them with her smiles amid the tumult of revolutions, and the wreck of worlds.

“The French people, after enduring the yoke of slavery through a continued succession of ages, have awakened from their lethargy to bask in the sunshine of freedom.

“Europe beholding with jaundiced eye the efforts of France to obtain its freedom, entered into a conspiracy against her, formed a coalition, launched fleets into the ocean, and brought armies into the field : while the torch of civil war began to kindle in the interior states of the nation.

“But liberty smiled on our projects. It was she that put strength into our arms, and fire into our hearts.

“Of our numerous enemies, those who possessed sagacity withdrew in time from the coalition, while others, beholding their companions gasping in the dust, humbled themselves before the tri-coloured standards, and clamoured for peace. There now remained but three enemies to subdue ; one of whom the army of Italy opposed with the most brilliant success. Of four armies that Austria brought into the field, not one returned back to their country. There was scarcely a day that thousands did not return to their mother earth, while myriads were made prisoners by the troops of the republic, the thunderbolts of war.

“Yet war was ever considered by the republic an evil. It was with regret that she beheld the field empurpled with blood.

She therefore proposed a peace, and dictated the terms of it.

“But her propositions, citizens, were either rejected with obstinacy, or eluded with craft.

“The army of Italy, therefore, has been compelled to continue the war, and in pursuing its enemies, to pass near your states.

“I come from General Bonaparte, in the name of the French republic, to assure the ancient republic of Saint-Marino of peace and inviolable friendship.

“Citizens regents, the political constitution of the people that surround you may be subject to vicissitudes. If any part of your frontiers should be molested by your neighbours, I am charged by the Chief General to inform you, that the troops of the French republic will ever come forward with alacrity to manifest the friendship which they bear you by affording their succour.

“At the same time I cannot refrain from felicitating myself upon the event that has procured me the occasion to be able to express to you the veneration with which the children of liberty contemplate the republic of Saint-Marino.”

The representatives of the republic of Saint-Marino, to citizen Monge, member of the national institute of France, and member of the commission of arts and sciences in Italy, deputed by general Bonaparte.

“DEPUTED-CITIZEN,

“We can scarcely believe it real that you should appear before our assembly in the character of a republican deputy. It appears to us a phantom of the imagination. Surrounded as we have been by slaves, and wretches paired to the yoke of bondage, the pleasure is not less grateful, than the distinction is flattering, to receive assurances of friendship from a nation that has triumphed over despotism, and planted the tree of li-

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berty in their dominions. We deliver you the answer of the council to the eloquent address which you pronounced in the name of the French republic. It was received by the people with exquisite sensibility. Assure your general of our sentiments of gratitude and veneration. Intercede with him for the favour which we find it necessary to our existence to demand, and be persuaded we shall ever remember with pleasure your own virtues and talents."

"We count, citizen deputy, the day of your mission to our republic among the most glorious eras of our existence as a nation. The French republic, while she triumphs over her enemies by the power of her arms, conquers all hearts with the greatness of her generosity. Happy are we to have before us a model so deserving to excite our emulation, but more happy to find a friend in so mighty a nation. It is with the most lively interest that we behold the arms of the French republic recall to memory in Italy the celebrated deeds of ancient Greece and Rome.

"Our own enjoyment of liberty enables us to appreciate the magnanimous efforts of a great nation struggling to recover their's. You have left upon record an example of what energy may be produced from the inspiration of this passion. Alone, and unassisted, you triumph over the united opposition of Europe.

"Your army, marching upon the footsteps of Hannibal, and surpassing in achievements the most vaunted feats of antiquity, has, conducted by a hero, a heaven-born general, prosecuted its march to a corner of the globe where the remains of ancient liberty had fled to perpetuate her blessings, and where you will find the Spartan simplicity of manners, rather than the Athenian elegance and refinement.

"Return, therefore, to the hero who sent you hither, not so much with expressions of our homage, as our gratitude. Inform him that the republic of Saint-Marino, contented with humble mediocrity, desires not to increase its territory; but

would felicitate herself upon beholding their band of union cemented by the opening of a commercial intercourse with the republic of France, and to enter into a treaty that shall give it the sanction of a law.

“To this do we confine our ambition, and it is on this subject that we intreat you to exert your influence with the French general in chief. Accept from us yourself, the assurances of our unalterable esteem, and believe us that we experience a most lively satisfaction in being honoured with the mission of a man, who to the virtues of a citizen joins the accomplishments of literature. The object of your expedition, and the happy manner in which you have acquitted it, will form a perpetual monument of glory to the conqueror of Italy and the army which he commands ; and be transmitted with grateful remembrance to the latest of our posterity.

“*Saint-Marino, Februry 12, 1797.*”

On the 17th of Pluviose, February the fifth, the division of Tyrol drove the Austrians from their position between Saverio and Besotto ; and general Murat on the following day forced on the right of the Adige the post of Denenbano.

The Austrian levies were all stationed between the Tagliamento and the Piave, while the French occupied the right banks of the latter, and were ready to oppose their progress. On the 4th of Ventose, February twenty-second, general Guieux retook Treviso ; and on the 5th, twenty-third, and following days, the two armies had a variety of slight skirmishes, which were a prelude to more important conflicts. On the 12th of Ventose, March second, Bonaparte directed



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general Joubert to attack the Austrians upon the Lavis, which hindered them from establishing themselves as they had intended. On the 20th, tenth, general Massena repaired to Feltri, upon which the Austrians evacuated Cordevole, and proceeded to Bellum. Two days after, very early in the morning, the French passed the Piave, discomfited those Austrians who disputed the passage, and arrived at San-Salvador; but the Austrians had left their camp at Campana, doubtful of being surrounded. Another division of the French followed in the afternoon, who reached Conegliano the same night. On the 23d, thirteenth, general Guieux attacked the Austrian rear-guard at Sacile, and made some of them prisoners. In the mean time general Massena had surrounded the rear-guard of another division of the Austrian army, and captured 700 prisoners. On the 26th, sixteenth, Bonaparte ordered the divisions of general Guieux, Bernadotte and Serrurier, to proceed by Valvasone to the borders of the Tagliamento, on the opposite side of which the Austrians were intrenched, to dispute the passage of the river. The French army at this crisis was divided by Bonaparte into three corps; Massena with a considerable division was directed to pursue the Austrian troops who had posted themselves amidst the fastnesses between the Venetian territories and the Tyrol; the main body remained under the immediate command of Bonaparte, whilst



the third conducted by Joubert, Baraguay d'Hilliers and Delmas, was to make a diversion, by penetrating along the Adige into Carinthia.

These movements having been adjusted, and the main body of the French army having arrived on the banks of the Tagliamento, which, although a steep river with a very forcible current, could be easily forded, on account of the severity of the frost, Bonaparte resolved not to lose the advantages which the situation of the river now offered him ; as soon therefore as general Bernadotte arrived with his division, Guieux was commanded to pass the river under the cover of 12 pieces of artillery, to attack the right of the Austrian intrenchments, whilst Bernadotte made a similar attempt upon their left. The cannonading began and was continued with much vigour. Dupoz, at the head of one division, supported by general Bon and his grenadiers, and Murat with another, sustained by Bernadotte's grenadiers, plunged into the river at the same time, and landed on the opposite bank. The whole French line was in motion, the artillery soon following. On this bank the Austrian cavalry repeatedly charged the French infantry, but all their attempts to break the line were ineffectual ; they resisted the shock with the points of their bayonets, and the incessant discharges of grape-shot, which fell like a shower upon the Austrians, soon overcame

all opposition, and being thrown into disorder they abandoned a large portion of their artillery and baggage to the French, who captured this day about 400 prisoners, many of them distinguished officers.

The French army immediately passed Palmanuova, where they procured a large quantity of provisions, crossed the Lifonzo and hastened to Gradisca, took possession of the heights which command the fortress, and immediately summoned the Austrians in it to surrender. Perfectly surrounded, with no possibility of escape, and certain of death in case of an assault, the garrison capitulated on the 29th Ventose, March nineteenth. In the fort were found 3,000 men, 10 pieces of cannon, and 8 stands of colours.

Whilst these events promoted the safety of the main body of the French army, the two divisions had triumphed in a similar manner. Massena became master of La Chiusa, and forced the bridge of Cassola, which the Austrians attempted in vain to hinder. This skirmish cost the latter 600 prisoners.... their magazines fell into the hands of the French, who on this occasion entered the Austrian intrenchments sword in hand. This division of the French army continued its victorious progress, and drove the Austrians to whom it was opposed beyond the defiles of Caporetto. The French general proceeded to Travis, where he was attacked by a large body of Austrians, and a most obsti-

nate battle was fought, but the Austrians were entirely defeated. Three generals were taken, and a regiment of Cuirassiers nearly destroyed. In the mean time general Guieux had beaten a column at Pufero, who accelerated their march to reach the defile of La Chiusa, a strongly fortified post, from which they were obliged to retire after an obstinate defence, and immediately encountered Massena's division; a slight contest ensued, but the whole body laid down their arms to the French....5,000 men, 4 generals, 400 baggage waggons and 30 pieces of cannon, were the reward of this day's labour. This battle was fought above the clouds, on the top of the mountains, where the snow was three feet deep, and the cavalry forced to charge on the ice.

Joubert, who had been sent through the Tyrol to rejoin Bonaparte at La Drave, was equally fortunate with the other parts of the army. He began his march on the 30th of Ventose, March twentieth, and in the vicinity of Lavis surrounded a corps of the Austrians, who maintained a long and bloody conflict, which ended in the capture of 4,000 of them prisoners, with all their baggage and 3 pieces of cannon....2,000 were killed. This body was composed chiefly of Tyrolean riflemen.

The Austrians retired after this defeat to the right bank of the Adige, in which position they appeared to be determined to continue. General Joubert, on the 2d of Germinal,

March twenty-second, repaired to Salerno, whilst general Vial gained possession of the bridge of Neumark, and intercepted general Laudohn's retreat. An obstinate combat followed, the issue of which appeared uncertain, until general Dumas with the cavalry rushed into the village of Tramin, made 600 prisoners, and captured two pieces of cannon. The Austrian troops immediately fled to the mountains, as their retreat was lost.

The French troops passed through Botzen and proceeded to Clausen. The Austrians in this place were strongly defended both by their own efforts and by works almost inaccessible ; but the attack of the French was so vehement, and their efforts so ably directed, that the victory belonged to them, with 1,500 prisoners.

At Brixen, Botzen, and in the other depots, the French found large quantities of provisions, which were generally accompanied by the Austrian hospitals, the latter retreating so suddenly as not to be able to take them away. Bonaparte during the time which had elapsed in the transaction of these events, had with the main body of the army entered Goritz on the 2d of Germinal, March twenty-second, in which the Arch-Duke had left his magazines of provisions and military stores. On the 4th, twenty-sixth, general Dugua entered Trieste, and the mines of Ydria afforded Bonaparte, gold to the amount of nearly twenty-two millions, upwards of 80,000l. sterling.



On the 9th, twenty-ninth, he arrived at Clagenfurth, the capital of Carinthia, and on the 12th, April first, he promulged this address:

BONAPARTE TO THE PEOPLE OF THE PROVINCE  
OF GORITZ.

*“Head-Quarters, Goritz, Germinal 1, March twenty-first.*

“The mention of the French army has unjustly carried terror with it. We neither come hither to conquer your country, to change your manners, nor to alter your religion. The French republic is the friend of all nations. Woe to those kings who have the folly to make war against her.

“Priests, nobles, citizens, people, who form the population of the province of Goritz, banish your fears, we are good and humane. You will experience more liberal dealings from us than from the ambassadors or ministers of kings.

“Enter not into a quarrel with which you have no business. I will protect your persons, your dwellings, your possessions, your privileges and religion. I will restore to you your rights. The French people consider every victory base and counterfeit which has not justice for its characteristick.”

After a few slight skirmishes which occurred between the 29th and the first of April, the armies on that day met and fought with great fury at St. George, which opened a passage for the French to Neumark, at which they arrived on the following morning. General Joubert still continued his progress, and on the 8th, twenty-eighth, forced the defile of Inspruck, after a brisk cannonading.

Bonaparte whilst at Clagenfurth, and before the battle of St. George, wrote to the Arch-Duke as follows :

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BONAPARTE TO THE ARCH-DUKE CHARLES.

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*" 11th Germinal, March thirty-first.*

" M. GENERAL IN CHIEF,

" Brave soldiers make war, and desire peace. Have not hostilities lasted for six years ? Have we not killed men, and committed evils enough against suffering humanity ? Such are the exclamations used on all sides. Europe, which had taken up arms against the French republic, has laid them down. Your nation alone remains ; and yet blood is about to flow more than ever. The sixth campaign is announced under the most portentous auspices. Whatever may be the result, many thousands of gallant soldiers must still fall a sacrifice in the prosecution of the contest. At some period we must come to an understanding, since time will bring all things to a conclusion, and extinguish the most inveterate resentments.

" The executive directory of the French republic communicated to his Imperial majesty its inclination to terminate a conflict which desolates the two countries. These pacific overtures were defeated by the intervention of the British cabinet. Is there no hope, then, of accommodation ? Is it essential to the interests, or gratifying to the passions, of a nation far removed from the theatre of war, that we should continue to murder each other ? Are not you, who are so nearly allied to the throne, and who are above all the despicable passions which generally influence ministers and governments, ambitious to merit the appellations of ' the benefactor of the human race ' and ' the saviour of the German empire.' Do not imagine, my dear general, that I wish to insinuate that you cannot possibly save your country by force of arms ; but on the supposition that the chances of war were even to become favourable, Germany will not suffer less on that account. With respect to myself, gallant commander, if the overture which I have now the honour to make to you could be the means of sparing the life of a single man, I should think myself prouder of the civic crown to which my interference would entitle me, than of the melan-

choly glory likely to result from the most brilliant military exploits. I beg of you to believe me to be, general in chief, with sentiments of the most profound respect and esteem, &c. &c.

“BONAPARE.”

THE ARCH-DUKE CHARLES'S REPLY TO BONAPARTE.

“M. GENERAL,

“Though I make war, and obey the dictates of honour and duty, yet I desire, as well as yourself peace, for the happiness of the people and the interest of humanity.

“As, nevertheless, in the post with which I am intrusted, it does not belong to me to scrutinise or to terminate the quarrels of the belligerent powers ; and as I am not furnished, on the part of his Imperial majesty, with any power to treat ; you will see that it is natural, M. general, that I should not enter into any negociation with you on that subject, but wait for superior orders relative to an object of such high importance, and which is not fundamentally a part of my duty. But whatever may be the future chance of the war, or the hopes of peace, I entreat you to be persuaded, M. general, of my distinguished esteem and consideration.

“CHARLES, Field-Marshal.”

A skirmish took place at the entrance into Hundsmark on the 14th, April third, which continued for an hour, and ended in the loss of nearly 900 of the Austrians, 600 of whom were prisoners : the French immediately occupied Kintenfield, Murau and Judenburgh ; and in this position the whole of the divisions re-united ; Joubert was accompanied by 8,000 prisoners, whom he had captured in the course of his march through the Tyrol.

Bonaparte had now traversed the southern chain of the Alps, and arrived within 30 leagues of Vienna: nothing less was anticipated than that the French would pursue the road to Vienna, and consternation filled the capital, whose inhabitants were clamorous for peace; which induced the Emperor to request a suspension of arms. The Count de Bellegarde and M. Morveldt, the Imperial plenipotentiaries, visited Bonaparte at his head-quarters, Leoben, and presented him a note in the name of the Emperor, to which Bonaparte immediately replied:

*“ Judenburgh, April 7.*

“ His majesty the Emperor and King has nothing more at heart than to concur in restoring repose to Europe, and putting an end to a war which desolates the two nations; in consequence of the overture which you made to his royal highness by your letter from Clagenfurt, his majesty the Emperor has accordingly sent us to you, to treat on a subject of such high importance.... Pursuant to the conversation we have just had with you, and persuaded of the good-will, as well as the intention of the two powers, to terminate, as soon as possible, this disastrous war, his royal highness desires an armistice for nine days, on purpose to attain the desired end with more speed, and in order that all delays and obstacles which the continuance of hostilities might occasion to the negociation may be removed, and every thing concur to the re-establishment of peace between the two great nations.

“ Count BELLEGARDE, Lieut. General.

“ MORVELDT, Major-General.”

“ TO GENERALS BELLEGARDE AND MORVELDT.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ In the military position of the two armies, an armistice is

hostile to the French ; but if it be to smooth the road to peace, which is so much desired, and will be so useful to the two nations, I consent without difficulty to your desires.

“ The French republic has often manifested to his majesty her desire to put an end to this cruel war : she remains in the same sentiments ; and I do not doubt, after the conference which I have had the honour to have with you, that in a few days peace will be at length re-established between the French republic and the Emperor. I beg you to confide in those sentiments of esteem and consideration with which I am, gentlemen, &c.

“ BONAPARTE.”

An armistice was agreed to, and preliminaries of peace instantly succeeded. The preliminaries began with a declaration on the part of the Emperor, that he acknowledged the *French republick*. Bonaparte, interrupting the recital, observed with dignity, “ *The French republick is like the sun in the firmament ; and blind indeed are those who have not observed its splendour !*” The article was erased.

At the signing of these preliminaries the Emperor sent three of the principal nobility of his court as hostages. Bonaparte received them with every mark of distinction, invited them to dine with him, and at the desert said, “ Gentlemen, you are free : tell your master that if his imperial word require a pledge, you cannot serve as such ; and if it require none, that you *ought* not.”

The Venetians were next to feel the effects of Bonaparte’s resentment : the government of that city had expressed the most enthusiastic rapture when they reflected that he



might among the mountains and defiles of Styria, experience the fate of Charles XII. at Pultowa, and manifested the most pointed enmity to the French.

Whilst Bonaparte continued his brilliantly successful career, three hundred French, who were sick in the hospitals at Verona, were murdered in cold blood by the Venetians: a trifling advantage which a body of Austrians had gained over a division of the French army, separated from the main body, produced a belief in the citizens of Verona and its vicinity, that victory had abandoned the conqueror of Italy. When Bonaparte heard this affecting intelligence, he wrote to the Doge of Venice a menacing letter :....

“ Through your continental territories the subjects of the  
“ most serene republic are in arms; the rallying word is,  
“ *Death to the French.*”

“ The number of soldiers of the army of Italy who have  
“ been its victims, amounts to many hundreds....Do you be-  
“ lieve that when I can carry our arms into the heart of Ger-  
“ many, I have not a force sufficient to make the first people  
“ in the world respected? Do you think that the Italian legi-  
“ ons can suffer the massacres which you excite? The blood  
“ of our brethren shall be revenged. I resolved to send  
“ you my propositions by one of my aides-de-camp and chiefs  
“ of brigade....*War or peace.* If you do not immediately adopt  
“ measures to disperse the mobs....if you do not arrest and  
“ deliver into my hands the perpetrators of the murders which  
“ have been committed....war is declared.”

The Doge replied: he assured Bonaparte of the grief which the senate felt upon the



reception of his letter, expressing to him all that desire which the Venetian government entertained to live in peace and in the best harmony with the French republick; that if the Venetians had taken up arms, it was from fidelity and attachment *to their lawful government against those who had mutinied and revolted*; that in addition, the senate were disposed to deliver to the hero of Italy those who had committed these assassinations upon the French; and that he had prohibited the use of arms among his subjects except in their own defence against the rebels.

Bonaparte had offered them peace or war, and when the preliminaries of peace with Austria were signed, he determined upon the latter. Before he commenced offensive operations he published the following manifesto, stating his complaints and the reasons of his conduct :

*“ Head-Quarters, Palma Nuovo, 14 Floreal, May thirteen.*

“ Whilst the French were engaged in the defiles of Styria, and left far behind them Italy and the principal establishments of the army, where only a small number of battalions remained, this was the conduct of the government of Venice : 1. They profited of Passion-week, to arm forty thousand peasants, and uniting these with ten regiments of Sclavonians, organized them into different corps, and sent them to different points, to intercept all kinds of communication between the French army and the places in its rear.—2. Extraordinary commissaries, ammunition of all kinds, and a great quantity of cannon, were sent from Venice to complete the organization of different corps.—3. All persons in the Terra Firma,

who had received us favourably, were arrested ; benefits and the confidence of the government were conferred upon all those who possessed a furious hatred to the French name, and especially the fifteen conspirators of Verona whom the proveditori Prioli had arrested three months ago as having premeditated the massacre of the French.—4. In the squares, coffee-houses, and other public places of Venice, all Frenchmen were insulted, mal-treated, and called by the names of jacobins, regicides, atheists. The French were ordered to leave Venice, and a short time afterwards they were prohibited from entering it.—5. The people of Padua, Vicenza, and Verona, were ordered to take up arms, to second the different corps of the army, and to begin the new Sicilian Vespers. It belongs, said the Venetian officers, to the lion of St. Mark to verify the proverb—that Italy is the tomb of the French.—6. The priests in the pulpit preached up the crusade : and the priests in the state of Venice never speak any thing but the will of the government. Pamphlets, perfidious proclamations, anonymous letters, were printed in the different towns, and began to agitate the minds of all : in a state where the liberty of the press is not permitted, in a government as much feared as it is secretly detested, printers publish, and authors write, nothing but what the senate pleases.—7. All smiled at first at the perfidious project of the government. French blood flowed on every side. On all the roads, our convoys, our couriers, and every thing for the army, were intercepted.—8. At Padua, a chief of battalion and two other Frenchmen were arrested. At Castiglione de Mori our soldiers were disarmed and assassinated. On all the great roads from Mantua to Legnago, and from Cassano to Verona, we had more than two hundred men assassinated.—9. Two French battalions, wishing to join the army, met at Chiari with a division of the Venetian troops, which attempted to oppose their passage : an obstinate conflict took place, and our brave soldiers

cut a way for themselves, by putting these perfidious enemies to the route.—10. At Valeggio there was another battle, at Dessengaro a third. The French were every where the weakest in numbers ; but they know well that the number of the enemy's battalions is never counted when they are composed only of assassins.—11. At the second feast in Easter, on the ringing of the bell, all the French were assassinated in Verona. Neither the sick in the hospitals were respected, nor those who, in a state of convalescence, were walking in the streets ; they were thrown into the Adige, where they died, pierced with a thousand wounds from stiletos. More than four hundred were assassinated.—12. For a week the Venetian army besieged the three castles of Verona. The cannon which were placed on the battery were carried at the point of the bayonet. The town was set on fire, and the moveable column that arrived in the interim, put these cowards to complete rout, by taking three thousand of the enemy prisoners, among whom were several Venetian generals.—13. The house of the French consul to Zante was burnt in Dalmatia.—14. A Venetian ship of war took an Austrian convoy under its protection, and fired several shot at the corvette *La Brune*.—15. The *Liberateur d'Italie*, a vessel of the republic, with only three or four small pieces of cannon, and a crew of forty men, was sunk in the very port of Venice, and by order of the senate. The young and intrepid Haugier, lieutenant and commander of the said ship, as soon as he saw himself attacked by the fire of the fort and the admiral's galley, being from both not more than pistol-shot, ordered his crew to go below. He alone got upon the deck, in the midst of a storm of grape-shot, and endeavoured, by his speeches, to disarm the fury of his assassins ; but he fell dead. His crew threw themselves into the sea, and were pursued by six shallops, with troops on board, in the pay of Venice, who cut to pieces several that sought for

safety in the water. One of the masters, with several wounds, and bleeding in every part, had the good fortune to reach the shore, near the castle of the port ; but the commandant himself cut off his hand with an axe.

“ On account of the above-mentioned grievances, and in consequence of the urgency of affairs, the general in chief requires the French minister to the republic of Venice, to leave the said city ; directs the different agents of the republic of Venice in Lombardy, and the Venetian Terra Firma, to quit it in twenty-four hours ; directs the generals of division to treat as enemies the troops of the republic of Venice, and to pull down, in the towns of the Terra Firma, the lion of St. Mark. Every one will receive, in the orders of the day to-morrow, a particular instruction respecting ulterior operations.

“ BONAPARTE.”

On the sixteenth day after the publication of this manifesto, Baraguay d’Hilliers entered Venice with 6,000 men. The French minister immediately addressed the government, and deeply lamented that which the Venetians had committed against the French. He said, “ French blood has been shed : it demands vengeance ; it shall obtain it.” The council replied, “ That the restoration of harmony was the object of their public efforts ; that they desired the suspension of hostilities to settle amicably all differences between the republics of France and Venice.” They named three commissioners, arrested the three inquisitors of state, as the authors of the troubles ; ordered that every person should give information respecting



those who were concerned in the assassinations; and imprisoned many persons of rank.

The French army triumphed throughout the Venetian republic. In one of the proclamations Augereau said:

“PEOPLE ! I come amongst you to punish crime, to protect innocence, and to avenge the blood of my brethren. I know the evil which you have done us; I know to what a length the terrible right of conquest extends; I know how far we might urge our vengeance; but you were deceived by fanaticism and giddiness. You are conquered, unhappy and submissive; we shall be compassionate, kind and just. Generosity becomes power; nevertheless let none be imposed upon; it is for weakness, poverty and credulity I shall permit the heart to speak: the wicked enlightened man, the perfidious conspirator, need not expect kindness; they shall be punished.”

Augereau entered Verona; the peasants detained in fort St. Felix were led before the constituted authorities, and then to the place of execution to be shot: the general, after having addressed them in the language of the proclamation, said to them:

“Far from slaying you, I will return the children to their mothers, husbands to their wives, fathers to their mourning families, and citizens to the state. I come to dry up the tears of repentance, and to conquer hearts to the French: go, ye unfortunate, return to your countrymen; and say to them how we revenge ourselves !”

After the French had taken possession of Venice, the Pacha of Scutari wrote a letter to Bonaparte :....



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 THE PACHA IBRAHIM.

*"God is great, and his works are wonderful."*

"To the general in chief Bonaparte, protector of the law of Issa; to the powerful man of the French republick; to the general of generals, mighty conqueror of the countries of Italy, general in chief, faithful, beloved, merciful, beneficent: it is to him that I address this writing:....

"Prince of generals, O that your vows may be favourably heard! O that our friendship may be eternal! O that my sincere salutation may reach you! O that I may be informed of the happy state of your health. I request the favour that *my subjects* and *my merchants* who have business in Venice, may be protected in their persons and their commercial business; that the merchants of Scutari, my subjects, may be regarded, protected and honoured: I desire to give you the most frequent and signal proofs of my friendship. This letter will serve to express to you my acknowledgements.

"God is great, and his works are wonderful. O that the friendship which unites us may never cease.

"In the first days of Mabaram, year of the Hegira, 1272."

## BONAPARTE TO THE PACHA IBRAHIM.

"I have read with much pleasure the flattering expressions contained in the letter of your highness. The French republick is truly the friend of the Sublime Porte; she particularly esteems the brave Albanian nation which is under your command.

"Your highness will find annexed the order which I have given that the Ottoman flag should be respected in the Adriatick ocean. The Turks shall be treated not only as other nations, but with peculiar partiality. On all occasions I will protect the Albanians, and shall feel a pleasure in giving to your

highness a proof of my esteem, and of the high consideration which I have for it.

“ I request your highness to receive in testimony of my friendship, the four chests of muskets which I herewith send to you.”

Augereau destroyed the old form of government, and established a democracy ; but by the definitive treaty of peace of Campo Formio, which Bonaparte signed on the 26th Vendemiaire, October twenty-sixth, Venice and its dependencies on the continent were delivered to Austria.

Bonaparte at Campo Formio, displayed that warmth of character for which he is distinguished. Perceiving that the proposals of the French government were not much attended to by the Austrian deputies, he took up a beautiful piece of China, dashed it to atoms, saying, “ Since you will have it so, thus will I reduce you to dust:” and instantly quitted the room. The energy with which he spoke intimidated the Austrian government so much that they acceded to terms immediately, and the treaty was signed in the course of a few days.

Having fixed peace on the continent, and established the Italian republics, he returned to Paris, where he was received by the government and the people as the conqueror of Italy, with the most vehement applause.

Some intimate friends of Bonaparte talking freely with him concerning the treaty of Campo Formio, observed, that he had allowed the

Emperor great advantages in giving up to him the spoils of Venice; and that the destruction of one of the most ancient republics in the world had served only to indemnify the Emperor, through the success of a republican general. "*I was playing at vingt-et-un,*" said the conqueror, "*and being twenty I stood.*"

The congress of Rastadt was appointed some time after, and Bonaparte deputed as plenipotentiary on the part of the French; but the general discovered that it was more easy to march over mountains, besiege towns, and conquer hostile intrenchments, than to vanquish the duplicity and insincerity of statesmen, and adjust the disputes which they make, merely to protract the proceedings, and by extending the points of negociation, to perplex those who are engaged in them. He therefore left Rastadt, and at Paris began to meditate upon the Egyptian expedition.

It is almost superfluous to add any remarks upon Bonaparte's first Italian campaign, or to investigate his individual character from the events already narrated. He appears in the most favourable light, in almost every incident. His military skill as displayed in 1796 and 1797, raises him to the very highest rank as a warrior: and whether we consider the science which characterises his plans, the almost intuitive perception which he evinced of the errors of those whom he opposed, the rapidity with which he seized every ad-

vantage arising from those errors, the coolness and intrepidity which he manifested in every difficulty, or the unbounded authority which he had acquired over his soldiers, it must be admitted that modern history at least, affords no parallel to Napoleon Bonaparte. There are two qualifications uniting in the subject of this history, which are indispensably necessary to the commander of an army; that presence of mind which no danger can disconcert, and that unconcern respecting the indulgence of the natural appetites and passions which no hardships can discompose. The history of these campaigns affords ample proof of the prudence and judgment of the directory in appointing to the most difficult service in the republic, a man, to whom as a general, the renowned heroes of Greece and Rome must relinquish their laurels, and acknowledge that our times have produced their superiour.

A late writer who has published his observations on that portion of Bonaparte's life which includes his consulship, has advanced an opinion, which it is almost unnecessary to contradict. Of Talleyrand he says, "His power over the chief consul increases daily, and must increase, as he is the only one who is thoroughly versed in a thousand things of which Bonaparte and his nearest attendants know nothing." This must refer to the presumed ignorance of Bonaparte with regard to the art of governing: but a consi-



deration of the scenes in which he was engaged in Italy and in Egypt, will force us to conclude, either that the author was a very superficial observer of the consul, or that he composed his volume under the influence of the strongest prejudice. In Europe, it is almost impossible for any man to relate Bonaparte's interesting history, untainted by the violence of party spirit....on the one hand it will be unqualified panegyrick, or on the other, the most virulent reproaches: but we who are at a distance, and whose passions are less roused, can examine the character of any public individual, though not so minutely, undoubtedly with more accuracy.

Bonaparte in Italy demonstrated that he possesses all those requisites so desirable in the executive department of government: and at this period of his life it cannot be disputed that Talleyrand had given him no instructions in political legerdemain. To the revolutionary spirit excited, nourished and animated by the French general alone, must be imputed much of the success which attended his army: the republicks established and the measures adopted by him at that period discover great penetration, a just view of the importance of raising a strong barrier to any sudden inroads upon the French territory by the German Emperor, a clear estimate of the human character, and a perfect acquaintance with all those means which are so necessary to gain and to secure the affections of a conquered people.



Some have murmured at the removal of the paintings, statues, manuscripts, &c. which were buried in dust at Milan and Rome, and which are now the ornament of Paris: but the whole literary world regard the present ruler of France as having in this instance proved himself to be the patron of science....the monuments of genius and taste which had been so long obscured are now exhibited to all nations, and the various productions of art which the ignorance and bigotry of past ages had concealed, are displayed for the present generation to admire and to imitate.

It cannot be denied by the most determined opponent of Bonaparte, that he has very essentially contributed to the diffusion of scientific knowledge in France, and that the exhibition of those remains of ancient genius, which are now deposited in Paris, has been attended by the most important effects: these chef d'œuvres of the most renowned artists have kindled a spirit of enthusiasm in the literati of France, which never can be eradicated whilst he holds the direction of public affairs. To the philanthropist who rejoices in the dissemination of every kind of knowledge, the issue of the campaigns in Italy must be very grateful....for in whatever point of view we consider them, we cannot doubt but that the change to the inhabitants was advantageous. It is true they were burdened with many exactions,

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they were impoverished by contributions, but they were released in some measure from the chains of that odious tyranny which had during so many centuries degraded the sons of the Roman patriots to the level of the animal whose guide is instinct and passion alone.

The individual character of the man was amply displayed whilst he commanded the army of Italy....and if in the punishment of those who opposed him, he may have evinced a disposition to adopt barbarous measures to enforce his regulations, and to maintain obedience; it must be admitted that his situation was so delicate and insecure that it required strong measures to confirm his possession of the newly conquered countries. In the instances alluded to, the village of Binasco, and the domain of Arquata, his conduct is decidedly at variance with the whole tenour of his private life. His attention to his soldiers, his sympathising with them in all their concerns, his addresses to them, his letters, all prove that Bonaparte possessed a considerable share of the "milk of human kindness."

It may be said that all his kindness or pretended affection for his officers and troops, as well as his severity with respect to the Italians who revolted, proceeded from the same source....an insatiate love of fame, and an unconquerable ambition. But this does not affect the view which is given of the genuine character of Bonaparte....and it must be remarked that we have much more reason to sus-

pect the purity of motive for every uncommon measure which he may now execute, than when his name was almost unknown to his country, and when the extraordinary success which attended his military career was almost sufficient of itself to insure his proscription.

One author who appears to have spared no pains to procure the Austrian relation of the campaign of 1796 in Italy, can see little or no merit in Bonaparte, but this is surely an unfair estimate of his talents. Upon the presumption that Carnot's mathematical and geographical knowledge furnished the outlines of the course which the young hero should pursue, nothing can be deducted from the talents and skill of the chief of the army.

Carnot did not select his generals ; Carnot did not compose those classical and energetic harangues and addresses which whilst they inspired his own army with every degree of energy and confidence calculated to insure success to his operations, scattered dismay and terror amongst the soldiers and adherents of the house of Austria ; Carnot did not, could not have anticipated those multifarious events which demanded a promptitude of military movements, admitting of not a moment's delay, which were all directed by Bonaparte in person, which required an immense fund of activity and knowledge in the leader, and which were rendered more necessary than in any campaign of which modern his-

tory speaks ; because as fast as one army was conquered, another was recruited and dispatched against him ; and at no one period from the commencement of hostilities until the preliminaries of peace were signed, did he command an army more than four-fifths of the number of either of those six armies which he either captured or dispersed ; and although Carnot might have sketched some instructions for the general, he could not have animated the troops with the enthusiasm which they indisputably felt....he could not have prepared any plan to derange the progress of the Austrian troops, when no mortal could possibly know what course the armies might follow, and especially as every advantage in the spring of 1796 was altogether with the combined forces.

The energy, celerity and perspicacity which were apparent in Bonaparte through the whole of the campaigns, provided he possessed no other qualities to entitle him to the rank to which he attained, would justify the impartial historian in elevating him to one of the highest stations among the host of men who have no other claim to renown than the superior facility with which they can load their fellow creatures with all the miseries incident to human nature.

But the motives of all his conduct are the grand point upon which the question rests with regard to Bonaparte's character. That he felt in common with all military men, a



strong desire to become eminent cannot be disputed ; that he displayed much hauteur and self-importance when young, is evident ; and that even in Italy there are some instances in his journeys which evidenced much of the infirmity of the human character is incontrovertibly true. Nevertheless, that he is an ignorant upstart, without genius or learning, without science or courage, and dependent altogether upon the advice, prudence and management of others in his civil government, is a position so preposterous as to require no refutation. If the transactions already related do not suffice to convince every person of the genius of Bonaparte, let the following address which he made to his army when he had resolved to begin hostile operations, be adduced :....

“ SOLDIERS !

“ This is no longer a defensive war, it is a war of invasion ;  
 ‘ you are now to make conquests. You have no equipage,  
 “ no magazines ; you are without artillery, without clothes,  
 “ without shoes, without pay ; you want every thing ; but you  
 “ are rich in courage. Well ! there are your magazines ;  
 “ your artillery ; you have iron and lead ; march, and they  
 “ shall soon be yours.” He then shewed them the fertile  
 “ plains of Lombardy and Piedmont. “ The enemy are four  
 “ times more numerous than you, hence we shall gain a great-  
 “ er degree of glory.”

This is not an incorrect description of the state of the French army : with what talents must that man be endowed, who could with a body of not 60,000 men, so unprovided, set at defiance the German empire, and all the



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Italian powers, and eventually oblige each government in rotation to submit to the terms of peace which he dictated.

Many circumstances in addition to those which have been recited, attest that Bonaparte was not devoid of that sensibility which is one of the finest attributes of human nature. At the passage of the Piave, a soldier carried away by the current, was on the point of being drowned: a woman who accompanied the column jumped into the water, and saved his life. The general made her a present of a gold neck-lace, ornamented with a civic crown, and the name of the soldier engraved in it.

The death of Hoche undoubtedly affected Bonaparte very sensibly....to manifest his esteem for the memory of a man who died as he had lived, universally beloved....the general offered a thousand sequins to any person who composed an ode worthy of the subject, on the restoration of peace in La Vendee, which had been established by the unremitting efforts and patriotic exertions of Hoche.

The means by which Bonaparte attained his vast ascendancy over the soldiers, may be correctly appreciated by the following incident: One of the cavalry was deputed from Milan to Montebello, with very urgent dispatches: upon his arrival he found the general ready to depart in pursuit of the Austrians; he delivered him the packet, and waited

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his answer. Bonaparte immediately gave it him : " Go," said he, " and above all things " go quickly." " General, as swiftly as I " can : but I have no horse ; I killed him, by " the speed which I made on my journey ; he " lies dead at the door of your house. " It is " a horse you want only ; take mine." The messenger objected to the present...." You " will find him a very fine horse, and very " richly harnessed: Go, my comrade, there " is nothing too magnificent for a French war- " rior."

### *Expedition to Egypt.*

BONAPARTE having retired from the congress at Rastadt, returned to Paris, and the leisure which the want of active service afforded, permitted him to form new plans, and to invent new projects. The treaty of Campo Formio had rendered unnecessary a very considerable part of the immense bodies of troops which had been employed in defending the republic, and the directory were desirous to engage them in some service which would effectually injure the British commerce. The English were complete masters of the sea, and able to purchase a continental war at any time ; hence the French government were anxious to despoil her of part of her great mercantile influence, by opening new channels to acquire wealth. With this view, the hero of Italy conceived the design of subjugating Egypt, which proposed every advantage to the French, and which if it had been successful, would have strongly influenced the English East-India possessions. Situated as were the two hostile countries, the expedition to Egypt evinces all the distin-

guishing traits of Bonaparte's character. Similar measures with those which had been adopted in Italy, were rendered more necessary, whilst an extensive acquaintance with the Eastern manners, great self-denial and uncommon fortitude to bear the unexampled difficulties which they had to encounter, were indispensable.

This enterprise required profound genius, a penetrating mind, a legislating spirit, vast local knowledge, much coolness and intrepidity, vigour of plan, energy in execution, and boldness nearly allied to temerity. All these qualities unite in Bonaparte: and the directory having assented to the plan which he proposed, an armament was prepared with the greatest activity at Marseilles and Toulon, and in the month of Floreal, April-May, 1798, the requisites were provided for this hazardous voyage.

All the countries of Europe contemplated with much anxiety the destination of this immense armament: it was promulged that England was to be invaded by it, that its real object might remain unknown to the British fleets. Bonaparte understanding that the vessels were ready to weigh anchor, and attended by the generals and soldiers who had conquered Italy, arrived at Toulon, to which port a large body of literati had proceeded to accompany him.

Previous to his departure, Bonaparte to improve his leisure, demanded from the library at Milan all the books which treated on Egypt, Syria, the Red Sea, Persian Gulf, &c. On returning them, the passages which related to Egypt were marked, so that he appears to have availed himself of every necessary pre-requisite, and maturely weighed the arduousness of the undertaking.

Bonaparte did not arrive at Toulon until the beginning of May 1798: on the 19th Floreal, May eighth, he visited the squadron; on the 21st, tenth, he addressed his army:

“Soldiers! You are one of the wings of the army of England: you have made war on mountains, on plains, and in sieges: it remains for you to make war by sea. The Roman legions, which you have sometimes imitated, but not yet equalled, combated Carthage, by turns, on this same sea, and on the plains of Zama. Victory never forsook them, because they were always brave, patient under fatigue, obedient to their leaders, and united among themselves.

“Soldiers! the eyes of Europe are upon you: you have great destinies to fulfil, battles to fight, dangers and fatigues to overcome: you must do even more than you have yet done, and endure more than you have yet endured, for the prosperity of your native country, the happiness of the human race, and your own glory. Soldiers, sailors, artillery, infantry and cavalry, be all united, be one: remember, that in the day of battle you will have need of each other. Sailors, you have been hitherto neglected; now the greatest solicitude of the republick is for you: you will be worthy of the army of which you form a part. The genius of liberty, which from



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her birth has rendered the republick the arbitrator of Europe, wills that she shall be the same in the most distant seas and nations."

"The military force, when the several detachments were united, consisted of nearly 40,000 men; and the list of artists, men of letters, and those of science, contains the following numbers and departments: in geometry eight, in astronomy four, in general mechanics fourteen, in watch-making two, in chemistry eight, in mineralogy five, in botany three, in zoology five, in surgery six, in pharmacy three, in antiquities two, in architecture four, in drawing five, in engineering nineteen, in geography eighteen, in printing fifteen. In conformity with the various objects attended to in this assemblage of persons, the implements of war were accompanied by those of science."

The wind continued unfavourable until Floreal 30th, May nineteenth, when the signal gun was fired, and Bonaparte on board L'Orient, left the port the following day...the whole armament consisted of fifteen ships of war and upwards of 200 transports. On the 3d Prairial, twenty-second, the fleet were off St. Florenzo, and passing by Cape Corso and Capraya, laid to on the 6th, twenty-fifth, for the divisions from Ajaccio and Civita Vecchia; the former joined them, but the latter which had steered direct for Malta, and had waited for the arrival of the com-

mander, did not unite with them until they reached that island.

The armament appeared off Malta on the 20th Prairial, June eighth, and on the following evening, Bonaparte sent one of his aides-de-camp ashore to request permission of the Grand Master for the armament to fill their water casks. The answer given was, that two vessels only should take in water at the same time, which would have employed nine months, for the vessels had increased to more than 500 sail : upon which Bonaparte directed the troops to land, and after a slight resistance the island was subdued. The inhabitants resorted to Valetta, whose castle is nearly impregnable, if defended with skill and courage ; but between the military efforts which Bonaparte had determined to make, and the negociations which he attempted, the fortress capitulated the same evening : and on the 24th, twelfth, the tri-coloured flag was raised on the walls of the town. The consul-general of the Batavian republic had written to Bonaparte previous to the signing of the convention between them :

“ His most eminent highness and his council, having sent for me, have commissioned me to observe to you, citizen general, that when they denied you entrance into the ports, and begged to have your answer, they pretended to no more than a perception of the departure which you required of them from the laws imposed by their neutrality. The conduct of the order towards the French republic, and the protection which, as well as its people, from whom it will always be inseparable, it

has always received from the French nation, cause it to consider a rupture as a misfortune to which it wishes to put an end. His most eminent highness, therefore, and his council, ask for a suspension of hostilities, and for information concerning your intentions, which will doubtlessly be conformable with the generosity of the French nation, and the known sentiments of the celebrated general by whom it is represented."

By the capture of Malta, the French procured two ships of war, one frigate, four galleys, 1,200 pieces of cannon, 1,500,000lbs. of powder, 40,000 muskets and other articles. The garrison which Bonaparte left consisted of 4,000 men under general Vau-bois. A considerable number of Turks and others were received on board, and helped to fill up the vacancy occasioned by the garrison which was stationed at Malta.

On the 29th, seventeenth, the squadron began to leave the port, the following evening the whole were under weigh, and on the 1st of Messidor, nineteenth, L'Orient left the harbour. The armament passed the isle of Candia on the 6th, twenty-fourth, and on the 12th, thirtieth, arrived before Alexandria. They passed off the coast within six leagues of Nelson's fleet, which had arrived at Alexandria three days before, and had steered to the north-east in search of them.

Some disturbances having been excited at Malta by the soldiery, through misconduct of a nature which might be extensively injurious in Egypt, Bonaparte formed a code of regulations enforcing the strictest discipline

under heavy penalties, and caused them to be read on board each ship. Among other articles, it was ordered that whoever should violate the women, or enter the houses of the Mohammedans, or the Mosques, should be shot ; and none of these regulations, the spirit of which is so necessary for the welfare of an army, were transgressed. In a proclamation, published two days subsequently to the departure from Malta, after declaring the object of the expedition, which was to promote the general interests of civilization and commerce, and humble the naval power of England, and confidently promising, after several fatiguing marches, and some hostile encounters, complete success, Bonaparte told them they were going to live with Mohammedans, the first article of whose religious creed was, that *there is no God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet*. “Do not contradict them,” said he. “Conduct yourselves towards them as you have done towards the Jews and the Italians. Show respect to their Muftis and Imans, and the ceremonies prescribed by the Koran ; as you have shown to the Rabbis and the Bishops. Cherish the same spirit of toleration for the Mosques that you have entertained for the religion of Moses and of Jesus Christ : the Roman legions protected all religions. You will find here usages different from those of Europe. You will reconcile yourselves to them by custom. The people of the land into which we are



about to enter, differ from us in their mode of treatment of women ; but, in every country, he who offers violence to the women is a monster." Bonaparte proceeded next to warn them against giving way to a spirit of plunder : " Plunder, which enriches only a very few, reflects dishonour on the whole ; it dries up our resources, and converts into enemies those whom it is our interest to have for friends." In conclusion, he reminded them that the city they were going to attack was built by Alexander, and that grand recollections, fitted to excite the emulation of Frenchmen, would be recalled to their minds at every step. At the same time, orders were issued that every individual of the army who should pillage or steal, should be shot ; that the punishment of death should also be inflicted on every individual of the army who should impose contributions on the towns, villages, or individuals, or should commit extortions of any kind ; and that, when any individuals of a division should have committed any disorders in a country, the whole division, if the offender should not be discovered, should be responsible and pay the sum necessary to indemnify the inhabitants for the loss sustained.

Bonaparte, before he landed, issued two addresses :

BONAPARTE TO THE PACHA OF EGYPT.

*" On board L'Orient, 12 Messidor, June thirtieth.*

" The executive directory of the French republick have frequently applied to the Sublime Porte, to demand the punish-



ment of the beys of Egypt, who have oppressed with their vexations the merchants of France.

“ But the Sublime Porte declared, that the beys, an avaricious and fickle race, refused to listen to the principles of justice, and not only that the Porte did not authorize these insults, but withdrew their protection from the persons by whom they were committed.

“ The French republick has resolved to send a powerful army, to put an end to the exactions of the beys of Egypt, in the same manner as it has been several times compelled, during the present century, to take these measures against the beys of Tunis and Algiers. You, who ought to be the master of the beys, and yet are kept at Cairo, without power or authority, cannot but regard my arrival with pleasure. You are doubtless already apprised that I come not to attempt any thing against the Alcoran or the Sultan. You know that the French nation is the only ally whom the Sultan has in Europe. Come then and meet me and curse with me the impious race of the beys.

“ BONAPARTE.”

BONAPARTE, COMMANDER IN CHIEF, TO THE  
COMMANDER OF THE CARAVAN.

“ *On board L'Orient, 13 Messidor, July first.*

“ The beys have oppressed our merchants with vexation ; I am come to demand reparation. To-morrow I shall be in Alexandria. You ought to feel no uneasiness ; you belong to our grand friend the Sultan ; conduct yourself accordingly. But if you commit the least hostility against the French army, I shall treat you as an enemy, and for this you must be accountable, as it is far from my heart, and from my intentions.

“ BONAPARTE.”

A heavy sea opposed the landing, the wind was very unfavourable, the transports were in much confusion, and an attack by Nelson

was immediately expected. "It fell to my lot (says Denon) to accompany the French consul on board the flag ship. We were to communicate to the general whatever might interest him most powerfully under such critical circumstances. The English had been seen, and they might come up with us every moment. It blew a fresh gale ; and the convoy was blended with the fleet in such confusion, that the most terrible defeat would have ensued had the enemy appeared. I watched the general's countenance, which did not change in the slightest degree. He made me repeat the statement which he had just heard, and after a silence of a few minutes, commanded the troops to be landed."

Although late in the evening, Bonaparte ordered an immediate debarkation....the generals Menou and Kleber, with their divisions, landed with the loss of a few lives, and the commander joined them at 11 o'clock. The next morning very early, the French carried a small fort ; and the Mamelucs and Arabs began to skirmish with the French who had landed.

On the 14th, July second, the French reached Alexandria ; under its walls they met with much resistance, but their usual impetuosity surmounted all opposition : they scaled the walls, and though the inhabitants had fortified the houses, before the day was ended the two castles surrendered, and the

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French took possession of the city, forts and harbours. During the assault general Kleber, while pointing out to the grenadiers where they ought to scale, was struck with a ball on the forehead ; he fell, but the wound was not mortal : Bonaparte gave him the command of the town.

In the morning of the 15th, third, Bonaparte surrounded by the grandees of the city, and by the members of the old government, received the oath of fidelity. He addressed himself in the following terms to the sheik Koraim :

“ I have taken you in arms. and I might treat you as a prisoner ; as you have, however, behaved with courage, and as I think bravery inseparable from honour. I give you back your arms, and I think that you will be as faithful to the republick as you have been to a bad government ”

In the evening Bonaparte published this proclamation :....

“ Too long have the Beys who govern Egypt insulted the French nation, and loaded her merchants with vexations : the hour of their chastisement is arrived. Too long has this horde of slaves, purchased from Caucasus and Georgia, tyrannized over the fairest part of the world ; but God, upon whom every thing depends, has ordered their empire to end. People of Egypt ! You will be told that I come to destroy your religion ; believe it not : reply that I come to restore your rights, to punish the usurpers, and that I venerate, more than the Mamelucs, God, his prophet, and the Koran. Tell these that all men are equal before God : wisdom, talents, virtues, make all the difference between them. Now, what wisdom, what talents, what virtues, distinguish the Mamelucs, that they exclusively should possess all that is lovely and sweet

in life ? Is there a beautiful estate ? It belongs to the Mamelucs. Is there a beautiful slave, a beautiful horse, a beautiful house ? they belong to the Mamelucs. If Egypt be their farm, let them show the lease which God has granted. But God is just and bountiful to all mankind ; all the Egyptians are called to fill all posts ; let the most wise, the most informed, the most virtuous govern, and the people will be happy. There were formerly among you great cities, great canals, great commerce : by what has all been destroyed, if not by the avarice, the injustice, and the tyranny of the Mamelucs ? Cadis, Sheiks, Imans, Tshorbadjies, tell the people that we are the friends of true Moslems. Is it not we who have destroyed the Pope, who said that war must be made on Moslems ? Is it not we who have destroyed the knights of Malta. because the madmen believed that God willed them to make war on Moslems ? Is it not we who have long been the friends of the Grand Seignior, whose designs may God accomplish ! and the enemies of his enemies ? Are not the Mamelucs, on the other hand, in continual rebellion against the Grand Seignior, whom they still refuse to acknowledge ? They execute their own schemes only. Thrice happy those who are for us, they shall prosper in their rank and fortune. Happy those who are neuter ! They will have time to become acquainted with us, and they will come to our side. But wretched, thrice wretched those who shall arm for the Mamelucs, and fight against us ! There shall be no hope for these ; they shall perish !”

An alliance was immediately formed between the Mufti, the principal Sheiks of Alexandria and Bonaparte. Upon which the former issued the following :....

#### DECLARATION

*Of the Mufti, and principal Sheiks of the city of Alexandria, in the name of the Inhabitants.*

“ Glory to God, to whom all glory is due, and peace to the



holy prophet Mohamed, his family, and the companions of his divine mission.

“ The following agreement has been concluded between us, the chief men of the city of Alexandria, whose names are hereunto subjoined, and the general in chief of the French army encamped in this city.

“ The undersigned chiefs shall continue to observe the law and sacred institutions. They shall determine all differences according to the purest justice, and carefully keep at a distance from the crooked path of iniquity. The cadi, to whose care the tribunal of justice is to be confided, shall be a man of the purest morals and the most irreproachable conduct ; but he shall not pronounce any sentence without first consulting the chiefs of the law, and his final judgment shall be regulated by their decision. The subscribing sheiks shall study the means of making righteousness flourish, and direct all their efforts to that object, as if animated with the same spirit. They shall take no resolution but what is adopted with one accord. They shall zealously labour for the good of the country, the happiness of the people, and the destruction of the children of vice and iniquity. They further promise never to betray, or attempt to ensnare the French army, to act contrary to its interests, or to enter into any conspiracy which may be formed against it.

“ To all these promises they have bound themselves by the most solemn oath, which they renew by this act in the sincerest and most religious manner.

“ The general in chief of the French army promises, on his part, that no one of the soldiers shall molest the inhabitants of Alexandria, by vexatious proceedings, rapine, or menaces ; and those who shall commit such excesses shall be punished with the utmost rigour.

“ The general in chief has also most solemnly promised, that he will never attempt to compel any of the inhabitants to change their religion, or to make an innovation in



their religious usages ; but, on the contrary, assures them, that his wish is, that they shall continue to profess their religion, and he will continue to maintain their tranquillity and property by all the means which are in his power, as long as they shall abstain from any attempt against his person, or the army which he commands.

“ The present convention was prepared and signed on the morning of Wednesday, the 20th of the moon Muharem, 12 13th year of the Hegira, corresponding to the 17th Messidor, July fifth, 6th year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

“ *The poor Suleiman, mufti of Maliki.*

“ *The poor Ibrahim el Bourgi, chief of the sect Hamste.*

“ *The poor Muhammed el Messira.*

“ *The poor Ahmed, &c.”*

The greater part of the army merely passed through Alexandria: except the garrison which was placed in the city and the troops under Menou, who had marched to subdue Rashid, the whole army with their artillery and some horse, begun its march for Cairo, on the 18th and 19th Messidor, July sixth and seventh. On the morning of the third day after their departure, they discovered the Nile at Rahmanieh, into which they immediately plunged: here they rested two days, and general Menou, who had met with no resistance, joined the army.

General Dessaix arrived at Rahmanieh with his division soon after, and whilst they were bathing, was attacked by 6,000 Mamelucs, but a brisk cannonading from the French induced them to retire. Having passed Min-

iet Salameh, the French army perceived 4,000 Mamelucs posted to oppose their progress. In the village of Jibbrish, they had placed several pieces of cannon, and on the Nile were supported by some armed vessels : two actions were now fought, one on the river, and the other on land.

The French after an obstinate conflict, regained the vessels which they had lost upon the water, burnt the Mameluc admiral, and dispersed the whole. Bonaparte had formed his army into five divisions, and having planted his artillery at the angles, he permitted the Mamelucs, who charged with extreme fury, to approach within the reach of grape shot, when the cannon were discharged, which obliged them to retreat : the village was carried by assault ; and the Mamelucs fled with the loss of 600 men.

Bonaparte continued his march without any opposition, except that which was made by the Arabs, who assailed all the small parties of the French whom they could find. On the evening of the 2d of Thermidor, July twentieth, they first saw the pyramids ; and in the evening were but six leagues distant from Cairo : here Bonaparte learnt that twenty-three Beys, with all their troops, were intrenched at Embabeh, and defended by sixty pieces of cannon. Their force amounted to 6,000 Mamelucs, besides Arabs and peasants. As soon as this corps was discovered, the army formed as on the former oc-

casion ; and when Bonaparte had given his final orders, he said to the soldiers, pointing to the pyramids : “ Rush on, and recollect that from the summit of those monuments forty centuries watch over us.” Dessaix proceeded to the other side of the village, Regnier followed on the left, and Dugua, Vial and Bon, approached the Nile. The Mamelucs rushed upon the two first divisions, but in vain....the incessant discharge of musketry and grape shot, drove them back in disorder. The cavalry trying to force the French battalions, were exposed to two fires ; and Bonaparte immediately ordered the intrenchments to be assailed, which were forced, and the army totally routed. The Mamelucs were pursued to Gizeh : their whole loss amounted to 2,000 men, 40 pieces of cannon, 400 camels, much baggage and provisions, many horses, and a large quantity of gold.

In the morning Bonaparte published these proclamations :....

BONAPARTE, COMMANDER IN CHIEF, TO THE  
SHEIKS AND NOTABLES OF CAIRO.

*“ Head-quarters at Gizeh, 4th Thermidor, July  
twenty-second.*

“ You will see by the annexed proclamation, by what sentiments I am animated. Yesterday the Mamelucs were for the most part, killed or taken prisoners, and I am now in pursuit of the few who remain. Send hither the boats which are on your banks of the river, and send also a deputation to make known to me your submission. Cause bread, barley, meat

and straw, to be provided for my army, and be perfectly easy, for no one has a greater desire than I to contribute to your happiness.

“BONAPARTE.”

BONAPARTE, COMMANDER IN CHIEF, TO THE  
PEOPLE OF CAIRO.

“*Head-quarters at Gizeh, 4th Thermidor, July  
twenty-second.*”

“People of Cairo, I am satisfied with your conduct. You have done right not to take any part against me; I am come to destroy the race of the Mamelucs, and to protect the trade and the natives of the country. Let all those who are under any fear be composed; and let those who have quitted their houses return to them—let prayers be offered up to day as usual, for I wish that they may be always continued. Entertain no apprehensions for your families, your houses, your property, and, above all, for the religion of your Prophet, whom I honour and love.

“As it is absolutely necessary that some persons should be immediately charged with the administration of the police, in order that tranquillity may not be interrupted, there shall be a divan composed of several persons, who shall assemble at the mosque of Ver; and there shall always be two with the commandant of the place, and four shall be occupied in maintaining publick tranquillity, and in watching over the city.

“BONAPARTE.”

The principal person of Cairo, attended by the Kia, or Lieutenant of the Pacha, instantaneously offered Bonaparte possession of the city. The Pacha had left it in the night with Ibrahim Bey. The deputation returned to Cairo with a detachment from the French army, and Bonaparte removed his head-quarters thither on the 5th, twenty-third.



The Mamelucs after the battle at the Pyramids, were divided into two bodies; Murad Bey with one part retreated into Upper Egypt, whilst the other under Ibrahim Bey, retired towards Suez and Syria. General Leclerc was dispatched in pursuit of the latter, and on the 19th Thermidor, August sixth, Bonaparte with a body of troops joined his division, and a most obstinate skirmish ensued at Salahieh, between the rear guard of Ibrahim's army, and the advanced guard of the French, at the end of which the latter found themselves in possession of two pieces of cannon and fifty camels: near Belbeys the French army rescued a part of the holy caravan of Mecca, from the Arabs. Having left general Cafarelli to fortify Salahieh and Belbeys, Bonaparte returned to Cairo.

On the 25th Thermidor, August twelfth, Bonaparte accompanied by several of his staff, and some members of the national institute, after visiting the five inferior pyramids, contemplated with much attention that of Cheops, into which he was conducted by several muftis and imans. He penetrated into its interior, where he found a passage a hundred feet long and three feet broad, which introduced him to the tomb of Pharaoh, who erected the monument. A second passage, much injured, and leading towards the summit of the pyramid, carried him successively over two platforms, and thence to a gallery.



This last apartment is a flattened vault. Bonaparte there seated himself with his attendants, upon a chest of granite, eight feet long and four deep, and requesting the muf-tis and imans, Suleiman, Ibrahim and Muhamed, to be also seated, he commenced this conversation :

*Bonaparte.*—God is great, and his works are marvellous. But we have here a grand production of the hand of man. What was the object of the individual who caused this pyramid to be constructed ?

*Suleiman.*—He was a powerful king of Egypt, whose name it is said was Cheops. He wished to prevent the sacrilegious from troubling the repose of his ashes.

*Bonaparte.*—The great Cyrus commanded, that when dead his body should be left in the open air, that it might return to the elements. Dost thou not think that he did better ? What is your opinion ?

*Suleiman.*—*Inclining himself.* Glory to God, to whom all glory is due !

*Bonaparte.*—Honour to Allah ! Who was the calif that caused this pyramid to be opened, and thus troubled the ashes of the dead ?

*Muhamed.*—It is believed by some that it was Mahmoud, the commander of the faithful, who reigned several centuries ago, at Bagdad ; others say that it was the renowned Haroun Raschid....Peace to his manes !....who expected to find treasures here : but when by his command entrance was made into this apartment, tradition says that he found mummies only, and this inscription in letters of gold on the wall : *The impious shall commit iniquity without recompense, but not without remorse.*

*Bonaparte.*—The bread stolen by the wicked fills his mouth with sand.

*Muhamed, inclining himself.* Thine are the words of wisdom.

*Bonaparte.*—Glory to Allah ! There is no other God but God ; Mohammed is his prophet, and I am his friend.

*Suleiman.*—The salutation of peace to the envoy of God ! Salutation to thee also, invincible warrior, favourite of Mohammed !

*Bonaparte.*—Mufti, I thank thee. The divine koran is the delight of my soul, and the object of my contemplation. I love the prophet, and I hope, ere long, to see and honour his tomb in the holy city. But my mission is first to exterminate the Mamelucs.

*Ibrahim.*—May the angels of victory sweep the dust from thy path, and cover thee with their wings. The Mameluc has merited death.

*Bonaparte.*—He has been smitten and delivered to the black angles, Moukir and Quakir. God, on whom all things depend, has ordained, that his dominion shall be destroyed.

*Suleiman.*—He has extended the hand of rapine over the land, the harvests, and the horses of Egypt.

*Bonaparte.*—And over the most beautiful slaves, thrice holy mufti. Allah has withered his hand. If Egypt be his portion, let him show me the lease which God has given him of it : but God is just and merciful to the people.

*Ibrahim.* O most valiant among the children of Issa ! Allah has caused thee to follow the exterminating angel, to deliver his land of Egypt.

*Bonaparte.*—This land was a prey to twenty-four oppressors, rebels against the Grand Sultan, our ally....Whom God turn to his glory ! and to ten thousand slaves from Circassia and Georgia. Adriel, the angel of death, has breathed upon them ; we are come, and they have disappeared.

*Muhamed.*—Noble successor of Scander, honour to thy in-

vincible arms, and to the unexpected thunder which issues from the middle of thy warriors on horse.

*Bonaparte.*—Dost thou believe that thunder to be a work of the children of men? Dost thou believe so? Allah has placed it in my hands by his messenger the genius of war.

*Ibrahim.*—We perceive in thy works the great Allah who has sent thee. Couldst thou have conquered if Allah had not permitted? The Delta, and all the neighbouring countries, resound with thy miracles.

*Bonaparte.*—A celestial car will ascend by my command to the abode of the clouds; and the lightning will descend to the earth, along a metallic wire, the moment I shall bid it.

*Suleiman.*—And the great serpent, which sprung from the base of the pillar of Pompey, on the day of thy triumphant entry into Scanderich, and which remained withered at the socket of the pillar; was not that also a prodigy effected by thy hand?

*Bonaparte.*—Lights of the age, you are destined to see yet greater wonders, for the days of regeneration are come.

*Ibrahim.*—May the divine unity regard thee with an eye of predilection, adorer of Issa, and render thee the support of the children of the prophet.

*Bonaparte.*—Has not Mohammed said, Every man who adores God, and performs good works, whatever may be his religion, shall be saved?

*Suleiman.*—*Muhamed, Ibrahim together, inclining themselves.* He has said so.

*Bonaparte.*—And if, by an order from on high, I have moderated the pride of the vicar of Issa, by diminishing his terrestrial possessions, in order to amass for him celestial treasures, was it not rendering glory to God, whose mercy is infinite?

*Muhamed, with an air of hesitation.* The mufti of Rome was rich and powerful; we are poor muftis.

*Bonaparte.*—I know that you are poor: be without appre-

hension ; for you have been weighed in the balance of Balthazar, and you have been found light. Does this pyramid, then, really contain no treasure of which you know ?

*Suleiman.*—*His hands on his breast.* None, my lord, we swear by the holy city of Mecca.

*Bonaparte.*—Unhappy, thrice unhappy those who seek for perishable riches, and covet gold and silver, which are like unto dust !

*Suleiman.*—Thou hast spared the vicar of Issa, and hast treated him with clemency and goodness.

*Bonaparte.*—He is an old man whom I honour....May God accomplish his wishes, when they shall be regulated by reason and truth !....but he is to blame in condemning to eternal fire all the moslems :....Allah defend us from intolerance !

*Ibrahim.*—Glory to Allah, and to his prophet, who has sent thee into the midst of us to rekindle the faith of the weak, and to open to the faithful the gates of the seventh heaven !

*Bonaparte.*—You have spoken my wishes, most zealous muftis : be faithful to Allah, the sovereign ruler of the seven marvellous heavens ; and to Mohammed his vizier, who traversed all the celestial mansions in a single night. Be the friends of the Franks ; and Allah, Mohammed, and the Franks, will recompense you.

*Ibrahim.*—May the prophet himself cause thee to sit at his left hand on the day of resurrection, after the third sound of the trumpet !

*Bonaparte.*—He that hath ears to hear, let him hear. The hour of political resurrection has arrived for all who groan under oppression. Muftis, imans, mullahs, dervises, and kalenders, instruct the people of Egypt ; encourage them to join in our labours to complete the destruction of the beys and the Mamelucs. Favour the commerce of the Franks in your country, and their endeavours to arrive at the ancient land of Brama. Let them have store-houses in your ports, and drive far from you the islanders of Albion, accursed among the chil-

dren of Issa. Such is the will of Mohammed. The treasures, industry, and friendship of the Franks shall be your lot, till you ascend to the seventh heaven, and are seated by the side of the black-eyed houris, who are endowed with perpetual youth and virginity, and repose under the shade of Laba, whose branches present of themselves to true moslems whatever their hearts may desire.

*Suleiman, inclining himself.* Thou hast spoken like the most learned of the mullahs. We place faith in thy words, we will serve thy cause, and God hears us.

*Bonaparte.*—God is great, and his works are marvellous. The salutation of peace be upon you, thrice holy muftis !

During these events the famous naval battle of the Nile had destroyed the French fleet, and left Bonaparte without any probability of receiving aid from Europe.

The general requested admiral Brueys, when he commenced his march for Cairo, to enter the port of Alexandria immediately, or to land all the artillery and army equipage, and to sail for Corfu: in the full expectation of his having complied with this arrangement, Bonaparte was inexpressibly alarmed when he found that he was at Aboukir, fortifying himself with a design to resist any attack which the English fleet might make. On the 14th Thermidor, August first, admiral Nelson entered the bay of Aboukir....doubled the French line about half past six o'clock....in the evening, a little after nine, the Orient began to burn and at 10 blew up. The French admiral had been wounded at 8 and killed at 9....which increased the



confusion. Another French ship was destroyed in the same manner. In the morning the two fleets ceased the contest: the whole of the French fleet except two ships of the line and two frigates, which escaped, were either destroyed or rendered nearly useless.

“ It appears to me,” said Bonaparte in his letter to the directory, “ that admiral Brueys was unwilling to retire to Corfu before he was absolutely certain that he could not enter the port of Alexandria, and before the army, of which he had been without news, was secure from all necessity of retreat; but if in this fatal event he had his faults, he has expiated them by a glorious death.

“ The destinies have wished in this case, as in many others, to prove, that if they have given us a preponderance on the continent, they have granted to our rivals the empire of the seas. Great, however, as this reverse may be, it cannot be ascribed to the inconstancy of fortune....she has hitherto never abandoned us....so far from it, that she has served us in the whole of this expedition, beyond what she has ever done before.

“ When I arrived before Alexandria, and learnt that the English had passed there some days before in superior force, notwithstanding the frightful tempest which prevailed, at the risk of shipwreck I threw myself ashore. I recollect that at the moment when the preparations were making for disembarkation, a signal was given at a distance to the windward, of a ship of war. It was La Justice returning from Malta. I exclaimed: *Fortune, wilt thou abandon me? I ask of thee five days only.* I marched during the whole night; I attacked Alexandria at day-break with three thousand wearied soldiers, without cannon, and almost without ammunition, and in five days I was master of Rosetta and Daman-

hour, that is, already established in Egypt. In these five days the squadron ought to have been secure from the English, whatever their number; instead of this it remained exposed during the remainder of Messidor, end of June and beginning of July. It received from Rosetta, early in Thermidor, July; a supply of rice for two months. The English showed themselves in superior numbers during ten days in these latitudes. On the 11th Thermidor, July twenty-ninth, our squadron learned the news of the army being in complete possession of Egypt, and of its entrance into Cairo; and it was not until Fortune saw that the continuance of her favours were useless, that she abandoned our fleet to its destiny."

The pacha of Egypt having fled into Syria, the following note was sent to him:

BONAPARTE, COMMANDER IN CHIEF, TO THE  
PACHA OF CAIRO.

*"Head-quarters at Cairo, 2d Fructidor, August  
nineteenth.*

"The intention of the French republick in taking possession of Egypt, is to drive out the Mamelucs, who were both rebels to the Porte, and declared enemies to the French government. At present, when master of it by the signal victory which its army has gained, its intention is to preserve to the Pacha of the Grand Seignior his revenues and appointment. I beg then you will assure the Porte, that it will suffer no kind of loss, and I will take care it shall continue to receive the tribute which has been heretofore paid to it.

"BONAPARTE."

Bonaparte immediately employed himself in organizing the government of Egypt: and having resolved to carry the war into Syria in person, he dispatched Dessaix in pursuit of Murad Bey, who had fled into Upper

Egypt; that general left Cairo on the 9th Fructidor, August twenty-sixth, accompanied by a flotilla as a convoy. A few slight skirmishes with wandering parties of the Arabs, were the only military operations in which the main body of the army under Bonaparte were engaged until he commenced his march towards Syria.

The system of government which this new conquest required was altogether different from that which Bonaparte had established in Italy; and the protection which his troops demanded was also in every respect dissimilar. In Italy his scientifick knowledge could convert every river, mountain or forest into a strong hold, but in Egypt none of these natural and easily fortified positions were to be found. He directed that the old works at Cairo should be repaired, new forts constructed, and hence the city became the centre of all their military movements: this enabled him effectually to obstruct the predatory efforts and incursions of the desert tribes, and afforded him a secure and tenable situation in case the inhabitants should attempt an insurrection. Alexandria was defended by strong batteries, that if attacked by sea it might resist an invader, whilst Belbeys and Salahieh could make a respectable defence. Besides these measures which Bonaparte had adopted to provide for the safety of

the French army, he executed a very important plan to aid the movements of his troops, and to assist them when in action in the vicinity of the Nile. A formidable flotilla, carrying many pieces of artillery, and navigated by Europeans, was established upon that river; and all the army supplies of every kind, including the ammunition and implements of death, were conveyed by the vessels which were stationed for this purpose.

The army beneath his immediate cognizance was governed by a discipline the most severe, and the people of Cairo certainly respected the character of the general. The markets were abundantly supplied, and to divert the minds of his soldiers, all kinds of amusements were authorised.

Bonaparte in all his publick life has proved himself to be the friend of science, and a lover of those improvements which expand the mind and dignify the intellect of man; and to his endeavours and example must be attributed all the increase of knowledge which we have derived from his expedition. The ardour with which the literati who accompanied him pursued their investigations in every department of natural philosophy, was equally honourable to him and to them.

He began by establishing a publick library; a chemical laboratory followed; a new liquor unknown to the Egyptians was distilled for the troops, and salt-petre refined by a novel process. Hydraulick machines for common



and useful purposes were formed; wind-mills, never before seen in Egypt raised, and bread made for the army.

The institute of Cairo soon after met; this body included all the learned men, and many of the general officers, whose united efforts were directed to procure information concerning the natural productions, history and antiquities of a country which has never ceased to interest the theologian, the antiquarian and the philosopher. Every exertion was used by them, and all their leisure hours employed in examining the diversified curiosities of this ancient nation. Bonaparte himself, although distracted by the variety of his cares, associated with them in this honourable labour. Besides visiting the pyramids, he surveyed the canal which formerly led from the Nile to Alexandria, and by almost incredible efforts restored the internal communication between that city and Rosetta, which the blockade of the British had entirely destroyed, except by land. He also assisted in determining the question, respecting the canal between Suez and the Mediterranean, discovered its entrance, and traced its course to the length of four leagues. A trading company was settled; the merchants were encouraged; the road to Mecca was protected, and the taxes were considerably diminished.

The Mohammedans were treated with much kindness; the situation of the Copts and Greeks was meliorated; schools for the



instruction of youth in French, Arabic, geography and the mathematics, were established; marriages between the army and the natives countenanced; children of the same parents were admitted to an equal right of inheritance; the condition of the women amended; strict justice patronized; many presents were made to the Turks, Greeks and Arabs; shews, festivities and games in which his army and the natives mixed were sanctioned; a number of prædial slaves were stimulated to industry, by being presented with lands to cultivate on their own account ....to which Bonaparte added a question for the discussion of the institute: "By what instruments and airs may the minds of the Egyptians be most readily and effectually impressed through the powers of musick;" and introduced numberless other regulations very similar to the customs of the European countries. The army was recruited by a mixture of every nation, who allured by the prospect of participating in the spoils of the French soldiers, attached themselves to Bonaparte.

The birth day of Mohammed is an anniversary among all his disciples. The ceremony and feasting were unusually grand, arising from the large sum which Bonaparte had given to the inhabitants to defray the expence. It was upon this occasion that he declared himself the protector of all religions, and received from the Moslems the name of Ali Bona-

parte. He had previous to this event manifested great regard to the grand seignior, by permitting all the Turkish vessels in Alexandria, as well as all neutral vessels, either to remain or set sail for their respective destinations at their pleasure, and setting free and sending to Constantinople, on board those vessels, with a letter to the grand vizier, fraught with many professions of regard and subordination to the Porte, the Turkish slaves, to the number of three hundred, whom he had found at Malta.

He also obtained a passage for Beauchamps, who was the bearer of dispatches to the Porte, and in it stated his reasons for entering Syria and attempting the punishment of Ahmed Djezzar, pacha of Acre. Bonaparte's complaint against the *Butcher*, which name was given to Ahmed on account of his horrible cruelty and murders, he thus stated: " Ibrahim Bey fled to Gaza, and the pacha " received him as a friend. I sent an officer " to the latter, requiring Djezzar to keep the " bey at a distance, and to refuse him succour. He made no reply, but dismissed " the officer, and imprisoned all the French " at Acre in irons: he also protects the Mamelucs, and having collected a large force " threatens the frontiers of Egypt with hostility."

A deliberative assembly was collected from the fourteen provinces, composed of the most influential men in each, assisted by two of the

French philosophers, who appointed Abdallah Kezkaori, an Arabian prince, their president, the duties of which station he performed with great dignity. The members of this body were liberally paid, and wore a turban and tri-coloured shawl, which distinguished them from the other chiefs.

To increase the impressions which had been made upon the minds of the Egyptians, Bonaparte ordered that the anniversary of the republick's commencement should be celebrated at Cairo with the greatest splendour. The day began with discharges of artillery from all the forts, batteries, and the flotilla on the Nile. The troops assembled in the principal square, with 105 flags, one to each department and the Italian republicks, decorated with the tri-coloured figures. Inscriptions were affixed to the porticos and triumphal arches, commemorating the battle of the pyramids, the defeat of the Mamelucs, &c. the names of the soldiers who had died were recorded, and altars erected to their memory. The spectators, who consisted of the members of the divan and the other officers, besides a large multitude of the inhabitants, were delighted with the sight of the sentence which was emblazoned before them : " There is no God but one God, and Mohammed is his prophet." Bonaparte addressed his soldiers in front of the line :....

" Soldiers ! We are celebrating the first day of the seventh year of the republick. Five years since, the independence of

the people was threatened, but you took Toulon, which presaged the ruin of our enemies. The next year you defeated the Austrians at Dego; the following year you were on the summit of the Alps; two years since you were employed against Mantua; and last year you gained the celebrated victory of St. George. On your return from Germany you explored the sources of the Drave and the Izouso. Who at that time would have thought that you would now be on the banks of the Nile, in the centre of the ancient continent?

“Soldiers! Your destiny is enviable; you are worthy of what you have accomplished, and of the opinion which your country entertains of you.”

At the conclusion of this address, the bands of musick began to play their marches and patriotick airs, with songs of victory, and the general's address was cheered with a general and enthusiastick cry of “Vive la Republique:” a hymn was next sung, after which the troops filed off before Bonaparte, who returned to his quarters. A large company had been invited to dine at his house, where a sumptuous dinner was prepared for the guests. The French and Turkish colours were intertwined, the cap of liberty was placed by the side of the crescent, and the rights of man by the koran. After dinner Bonaparte gave as his toast, “The three hundredth year of the French republick.” One of his aides-de-camp, “The legislative bodies and the executive directory.” Monge, president of the Egyptian institute, “The perfection of the human understanding and the advancement of knowledge.” Berthier,



“ The expulsion of the Mamelucs, and the prosperity of the people of Egypt.” The patriotick verses which were sung by the soldiers concluded the feast.

Foot and horse races, and other games in the ancient manner commenced at 4 o'clock.... the prizes were adjudged to the victors in due form, who were carried in triumph round the circus. In the evening a superb illumination heightened the effect which the brilliancy of the day had produced. This was an exhibition altogether novel in Egypt: the crystal lamps which were disposed in every variety upon the pillars, arches, &c. combined with a most splendid display of fire-works, and accompanied with discharges of artillery and musketry, surprised and delighted the inhabitants.

The ceremony of the opening of the Nile was this year performed with unusual pomp, and attended by Bonaparte, who distributed large sums in alms to the poor, and invited the principal inhabitants to a magnificent feast.

The general divan met on Vendemiaire 17th, October eighth, but their deliberations were soon contaminated by the spirit of bigotry, which represented every innovation as opposite to the koran, and subversive of its dignity, it having provided for every possible emergency. These murmurs were reported to Bonaparte, who used every precaution which his situation afforded him to defend



himself, he immediately enrolled all the Europeans of every nation in Cairo, and formed from them ten companies of national guards, whom he stationed at certain appointed posts in the city, which they were to occupy and maintain.

The event which he had anticipated soon occurred. On the 1st of Brumaire, October twenty-second, immense crowds armed with spears and sharp stones, assembled in all the mosques, as places of defence and posts from which to sally. The alarm being given, the French were immediately under arms. Bonaparte gave orders for a battalion to march against the grand mosque, where eight or ten thousand Turks were assembled. Upon being summoned, they refused to surrender. The citadel immediately began to batter the grand mosque, into which several bombs fell, scattering terror and despair. The mosques were at length forced by the French, who had hitherto considered them sacred, and a dreadful slaughter ensued: the great mosque and many other buildings in which the rebels had concealed themselves were burnt, and those who escaped the flames, perished by the bullet or bayonet: every armed Turk was slain, whilst every Frenchman or small party of the French, experienced the same fate.

The loss of the Egyptian insurgents amounted to nearly 5,000 men, whilst that of

the French did not exceed 100 killed or wounded; and this was owing chiefly to a very heavy shower of stones which were thrown from the tops of the houses. The governor of Cairo was among the number of the killed; he had gone out unarmed, and almost alone, to investigate the cause of the tumult, and lost his life ere the insurrection was discovered.

Denon, an eye witness of this scene, adds the following interesting particulars :....

“ I was finishing my drawing of the sanctuary of death, so absurdly gay, when I heard loud cries, which I at first took to be some funeral, attended by hired female mourners, as is the custom here; but on turning my eyes I saw a number of women running away, and making a sign for me to follow them. The idea of the scourge of the country at first rushed into my mind, but seeing the ground clear for a considerable distance and no Arabs collecting, I resumed my drawing. Directly after, however, I saw several men also flying off, and being at a considerable distance from our own posts, I thought it most prudent to return. I found some agitation in the streets, and surprize in the looks of the inhabitants. When arrived at my house, I learnt that there had been an affray in the town, and that the governor had been assassinated. The noise of firing had been heard, and we were alarmed for the house of the institute, which was situated in the midst of gardens looking towards the country, and enjoyed in times of peace a delightful tranquillity, but for the same reason was the first quarter of the suburbs to be abandoned in any serious disturbance, or if attacked by the Arabs: towards the town it looked upon the part inhabited by the poorest class only, and consequently the most to be feared. We learnt that the house of general Caffarelli had just been pillaged, and that many persons in it

belonging to the commission of arts had fallen victims to the fury of the populace. We immediately made a muster of our own party, and found four absent, who, as we learnt an hour after from our people, had been massacred. We had no intelligence of Bonaparte, night was coming on, firing was heard in different places, and cries every where ; in short, we feared a general insurrection.

“ General Dumas, in returning from his pursuit of the Arabs, had made a great carnage of the rebels in entering the town, and had cut off the head of a seditious chief whilst he was haranguing the people ; but a full half of the town, and that the most populous, was barricaded up ; more than four thousand inhabitants were intrenched in a mosque ; two companies of grenadiers had been repulsed, and the cannon had not been able to penetrate into those narrow and crooked streets, whilst the enemy unseen and protected in their houses, were able to throw stones and lances on our party with safety and effect. The general had sent for our protection a detachment, which however he was obliged to withdraw about midnight, and this for a time aggravated the danger to which the institute was exposed. The night, however, passed quietly enough, for the Turks do not like to fight after dark, and make a point of conscience not to kill their enemies when the sun is gone down : and, on the other hand, I, who have always thought that in perilous situations, prudence, when it can do nothing, becomes a painful trouble, lay down to rest, trusting to the terror of others to awake me in case of alarm.

“ Early the next morning the war re-commenced : muskets were sent us ; all the members of the institute took up arms, and chose their leaders, but every one had his own plan of operations, and no one would obey. Dolomieu, Cordier, Delisle, Saint-Simon and myself, lodged at a distance from the others ; our house might have been pillaged by any one who would take the trouble, but as sixty men had been sent to the assistance of our comrades, we became easy on their account,

and set about intrenching ourselves in the best manner we could, so as to hold out at least four hours, if attacked by a moderate force only, that we might have time to procure relief by the alarm of our firing.

“ At one time we thought we were actually invested, for we saw the peaceable inhabitants fly, and we heard the noise of arms reach up to our walls, and the bullets whistling on our terraces. We immediately pulled them to pieces, to give us materials for knocking down and crushing any enemy who might attempt to force our gates; and at an extremity we could even use as a weapon of offence the ladder which served for mounting to our chamber. In the midst of our danger, however, the heavy artillery of the castle made the diversion in our favour, which I so anxiously expected; it produced all the effect which I looked for, and consternation succeeded to rage. The artillery, however, could not reach the mosque, which was now the only rallying point of our enemies, all the rest having surrendered at discretion: but the mosque itself was soon turned, and a battery taught the enemy that our warfare did not stop with the day; as a last effort, they now pulled down their barricades and made a sortie, but being repulsed, surrendered. The rest of the night passed quietly, and the next day we were at liberty.

“ Some traitors were indeed arrested and punished, but the mosques which had been the asylum of crimes were restored, and the pride of the offenders was heightened by this act of condescension, whilst their fanaticism was not subdued by their terror. Whatever representation could be made to Bonaparte of the danger of such a line of conduct with the rebels, nothing could shake the sentiments of humanity which he displayed in this event; he wished to shew as much clemency as he could excite terror, and the past was forgotten, whilst we had to lament many and serious losses.

“ Though the populace, the devotees, and some of the great



people of Cairo, shewed themselves fantastical and cruel in this revolt, the middle class, which is in all countries the most accessible to reason and virtue, was perfectly humane and generous to us, notwithstanding the wide differences of manners, religion and language ; whilst from the galleries of the minarets murder was devoutly preached up, whilst the streets were filled with death and carnage, all those in whose houses any Frenchmen were lodged, were eager to save them by concealment, and to supply and anticipate all their wants : an elderly woman in the quarter in which we lodged gave us to understand, that as our wall was but weak, if we were attacked, we had only to throw it down, and to seek for shelter in her harem ; a neighbour, without being asked, sent us provision at the expence of his own store, when no food was to be purchased in the town, and every thing announced approaching famine ; he even removed every thing from before our house which could render it conspicuous to the enemy, and went to smoke at our door as if it was his own, in order to deceive any that might attack us : two young persons who were pursued in the streets were snatched up by some unknown people and carried into a house, and whilst they were furiously struggling for deliverance, expecting that they were destined for some horrible cruelty, the kind ravishers, not being able otherwise to convince them of the hospitable benevolence of their intentions, delivered up to them their own children as pledges of their sincerity. Many other such anecdotes could be given of delicate sensibility, which recall the feelings of human nature in the times in which they seem to be entirely abandoned. If the grave mussulman represses those tokens of sensibility which other nations would take a pride in exhibiting, it is in order to preserve the dignified austerity of his character."

On the 21st Frimaire, December eleventh,



the sheik Sadat, gave a dinner to Bonaparte, on account of the festival of Seyd ut Zelmab, a woman of Ali's family, son-in-law to Mohammed, which was celebrated in the mosque dedicated to her. Dinner was preceded and followed by conversation. Bonaparte told the sheiks that the Arabs, in the time of the califs, had cultivated the arts and the sciences, but now they were in profound ignorance, and that no traces could be perceived in them of the knowledge of their ancestors. The sheik Sadat replied, that they possessed the koran, which comprised all knowledge. The general asked if the koran taught them how to cast cannon; all the sheiks present answered "Yes."

Bonaparte having arranged his plan, prepared to execute it by marching into Syria. He ordered general Bon to take possession of Suez, which he entered on the 17th Frimaire, December seventh. On the 2d of Nivose, December twenty-second, Bonaparte arrived, and there heard that Ahmed Djezzar was appointed pacha of Egypt; that he was collecting troops, and that he had sent a corps to El-Avisel, not far from the desert. He immediately dispatched Le Grange to fortify Cathich, who on the 17th Nivose, January sixth, reached it and fulfilled his orders. Bonaparte returned to Cairo the same day, and immediately adjusted the Syrian expedition.

The army engaged in this enterprise was composed of 12,892 men, divided into four

bodies, under the command of Kleber, Bon, Lannes and Regnier....Dommartin was at the head of the artillery, and Caffarelli led the engineers. The foot soldiers amounted to 9,882, the cavalry to 800, the engineers to 340, the artillery 1,385, the guides 400, and 88 dromedaries....the park of artillery consisted of 4 pieces of twelve, 3 of eight, 5 howitzers, 3 mortars and 3 cowhorns, and to each of the four divisions in addition to these, 2 pieces of eight, 2 howitzers of 6 inches, and 2 pieces of three.

The horse guides were accompanied by 4 pieces of eight, 2 howitzers of six inches; and the cavalry by 4 pieces of four.

Bonaparte ordered the provisions and ammunition of the army to be transported to Cathich, and three French frigates to cruise off Jaffa, preserving their communication with him. On board these vessels were the pieces of heavy artillery intended for the siege of Acre.

Regnier left Belbeys on Pluviose 4th, January twenty-third, and arrived before El-Arisch on the 21st February, ninth....in the fort and town were stationed about 2,000 of the pacha's troops. On the day previous to his arrival, his van-guard had dispersed some small parties of the Mamelucs. The French prepared an immediate attack upon the village, which is situated in the form of an ampitheatre, and notwithstanding the most obstinate resistance, it was forced by the bayonet with

the loss of 200 men on the part of the Turks, against whom the gates had been closed. The blockade was completed the same evening: soon after a large reinforcement of cavalry and infantry, with a supply of provisions for the garrison appeared, which received continual accessions of fresh troops until the 25th, thirteenth, when they encamped themselves in the vicinity of El-Arisch, in a very strong and favourable position. Kleber having arrived and joined Regnier, they resolved to surprise the Turkish camp, which they fully performed in the night of the 26th, fourteenth....the Mamelucs were nearly all prisoners or slain....all their camp equipage, horses, camels, provisions and ammunition were captured by the French: two beys and several kyachefs were among the dead on the field.

Bonaparte with the general staff left Cairo on Pluviose 22d, February tenth, and on the 27th, seventeenth, arrived at El-Arisch, where the artillery, and Bon and Lannes, with their divisions, joined him. The army were posted in front of the town, and on the 30th, eighteenth, a cannonade commenced, which made a considerable breach: Bonaparte immediately summoned the garrison to surrender, to which they replied, that they would consent to the demand, provided their arms and baggage were left them, and permission given for them to retire to Acre: this delayed the assault, and on Ventose 2d, twentieth, the garrison of 1,600 men, were

allowed to march to Bagdat through the desert.

On the 6th, twenty-fourth, the army entered Palestine, and marched to Kan Jounesse, near which Abdalla Pacha, with 1000 cavalry and 5,000 Naplousians had been encamped, but the approach of the French army induced him to retreat towards Gaza: on the following day the army continued their march, and when within two leagues of Gaza, perceived the pacha's cavalry. The French troops were divided into three square bodies, whilst the cavalry, with six pieces of cannon, commanded by Murat, hastened in front directly towards the Turks, who made various movements, advancing and retrograding...but the French being ordered to charge, they retired, and towards the close of the day the whole corps disappeared. The French advanced three leagues beyond Gaza, where the head-quarters were established, and near which the army was posted. They found in the town 15,000lb. of powder, cartridges, cannon, with a large quantity of provisions and military stores; the inhabitants met Bonaparte previous to his entering the town, who were treated in a friendly manner, and the possession of their property secured to them.

On the 10th Ventose, February twenty-eighth, the French head-quarters were removed towards Jaffa, in which troops were



collecting for its defence. At Ramley and Ledda they procured a large quantity of biscuit. Kleber, with his division, being the advanced guard, marched on the 13th, March third; upon his approach to the town, the Turks commenced a cannonading, which induced him to halt until Bonaparte arrived with the other divisions; who immediately directed Kleber and the cavalry to post themselves on the river Lahoya to cover the siege of Jaffa, which is surrounded by a wall, with several towers defended by cannon, besides two forts which command the entrance into the port from the sea.

Bonaparte having determined upon attacking the town by the south side near the sea, invested it on the 14th, fourth, encamped on the high grounds, and on the same evening opened the trenches and raised four batteries, the completion of which occupied the next day; two sorties had been attempted on the 15th, fifth, but with considerable loss to the garrison. The batteries began to play upon the walls on the morning of the 16th, sixth, and early in the evening the breach which had been made, authorised an immediate assault. Rambeaud and Vernois led the attack; the French troops entered the breach, and amidst a strong flank firing of the garrison, gained possession, and carried the square tower: the artillery showered grape shot on the city, and supported the infantry. The French continued their progress, and



captured the fort and the port, which so discouraged the garrison that they flew in all directions, and were mostly slain; their number amounted to 3,700 men, besides 300 Egyptians who escaped the carnage, and were sent to Egypt. Ten pieces of cannon were found in the towers, and about 20 indifferent siege pieces.

On the 17th, seventh, Bonaparte having gained possession of the fortifications, succeeded in repressing the disorders attending an assault, and the inhabitants returned to their habitations. Fifteen small vessels were captured in the harbour. He formed a divan, composed of the principal Turks in the town, gave orders to place the town in a complete state of defence, and established a hospital. The possession of Jaffa was of great importance to the French army, as it became the depot of all the supplies which they received from Egypt. From Jaffa Bonaparte wrote to Djezzar this letter, dated 19th Ventose, March ninth :....

“ Since my arrival in Egypt, I several times informed you that I had no design to make war against you, and that my only object was to expel the Mamelucs. You returned no answer to the overture which I made you. I announced that I desired that you would drive Ibrahim Bey from the frontiers of Egypt; but instead of that you sent troops to Gaza; you formed there large magazines, and promulged that you intended to march against Egypt. You indeed began to put this plan in execution; and you threw 2,000 of your troops into the fortress of El-Arisch, which is six miles only from the

frontiers of Egypt. I was obliged then to depart from Cairo, to direct in person the war which you seemed to invite. The districts of Gaza, Ramley and Jaffa are already in my power. I have treated with generosity such of your troops as surrendered at discretion, but I have been severe towards those who violated the rights of war. In a few days I shall march against Acre. But why should I go to deprive an old man, with whom I am not acquainted, of the few remaining years of his life ! What are a few miles more of territory, in comparison of those which I have already conquered ! And as God grants me victory, I will, like him, be clement and merciful, not only towards the people, but to the great. You have no solid reason for being my enemy, since you were that of the Mamelucs. Your government is separated from that of Egypt by the districts of Gaza, Ramley and impassable marshes. Become my friend, be the enemy of the Mamelucs and the English, and I will do you as much good as I have done you hurt ; and I can still do you more. Send me a short answer, by some person invested with full powers, that I may know your views. He needs only to present himself to my advanced guard with a white flag ; and I have given orders to my staff to send you a pass of safety, which you will find annexed. On the 1st of Germinal, March twenty-first, I shall march against Acre, I must therefore have an answer before that day."

Djezzar returned him a verbal answer :

" I have not written to you, because I am resolved to hold no communication with you. You may march against Acre when you please ; I shall be prepared for you, and will bury myself in the ruins of the place, rather than let it fall into your hands."

On the 25th Ventose, March fifteenth, the French army marched for Zeta, and discover-

ed a corps of cavalry ; Abdalla Pacha was on the heights of Korsum, but avoided a combat ; as he fled at the commencement of the attack, with about 200 men killed and wounded. Caiffa was abandoned, with a large quantity of provisions to the French, as soon as they approached the town. Bonaparte proceeded towards Acre, and on the 28th, eighteenth, took possession of one of the heights in its vicinity. Jaffet, Nazareth and Scheffamz were also secured to maintain the communication with Damascus.

The trenches were opened on the 30th, twentieth, and the siege continued with great activity ; on the 6th Germinal, twenty-sixth, the garrison made a sortie, but returned with loss : on the third day after, a considerable breach was effected ; a mine had been blown, which was thought sufficient, and an assault was made, but a ditch of 15 feet secured the works, and the besiegers were forced to retreat. During these events the provisions and artillery sent from Egypt, destined for the French army, were captured by Sidney Smith's fleet, who had joined Djezzar, and to whom, with Philippeaux, may be attributed the defence which it made. A new breach was made on the 12th, April first, but the attempt to enter it was unsuccessful.

General Vial was dispatched on the 14th, third, to Sous ; having secured safety to those who had fled at his approach, and established a small garrison in it, he returned to the

camp at Acre. A sortie was made on the 18th, seventh, on all sides, but the Turks were received by the French army with so strong a fire that they returned with much loss. It was between these two actions that Djezzar ordered all the killed or wounded French in his possession to be mutilated, and exhibited in triumph; at the same time 400 French who had been imprisoned by him, were lashed together in couples, placed in a sack, and cast into the sea. Information was also received by Bonaparte that large bodies of troops were assembling on every side to attack him, whilst Djezzar supported by the English flotilla was to aid their design. This induced him to detach general Junot to reconnoitre, who discovered some cavalry on the heights of Loubi....continuing his march, he suddenly perceived on turning the mountain, 3,000 cavalry in a large plain, who instantly attacked him: he retreated fighting, and reached Nazareth, having been pursued six miles and lost 60 men: the Turks must have suffered much, as five standards were captured on this occasion by the French detachment.

Kleber upon the receipt of the intelligence of this combat, marched to join Junot at Nazareth: on the 22d, eleventh, he had scarcely arrived at Sed Jarra, when the Turks descended from the hills and enveloped his division, with 4,000 cavalry and 600 foot; he immediately attacked the horse, carried the



village, and forced them to retreat to Jordan. Three days after this skirmish a large body of troops collected in the plain of Fouli, which was joined by a great number of Samaritans and Naplousians. Kleber informed Bonaparte that 18,000 men, though others said 30 or 40,000, were marching against him; whilst the garrison at Jaffet was blockaded, with a very small quantity of provisions and ammunition; these events induced him to resolve upon a decisive battle.

On the 24th, thirteenth, Murat was detached from Acre with 1,000 infantry and a regiment of cavalry, who took possession of Jacob's bridge, by which means he assailed the rear of the troops who blockaded Jaffet, and then joined Kleber. Bonaparte on the 26th, fifteenth, with the remainder of the cavalry, Bon's division and 8 pieces of artillery, left the camp before Acre, and on the morning of the 27th, sixteenth, having ascended the last height, he discovered Kleber engaged with the Mamelucs near Mount Thabor....about 2,000 foot against 20,000 cavalry....their camp was also in view at about six miles distance: the army was formed into three squares, one of which was cavalry ...he made the proper arrangements to turn them at a considerable distance, to cut off their retreat to their camp, and then to drive them towards Jordan, where Murat was waiting to consummate the victory. The cavalry marched with two pieces of artillery to seize



the camp, whilst the infantry proceeded to execute their duty. Kleber having received a supply of ammunition, cavalry and 4 pieces of cannon, formed his corps into two squares, and posted his light troops among some ruins. The Mamelucs had stationed in the village of Fouli the Naplousian infantry, with two pieces of cannon: the whole of the cavalry surrounded Kleber's main body, which repelled every charge. When arrived within a short distance, Bonaparte ordered Rampon to assist Kleber, Vial to march towards the mountain of Nouzes, and the foot guides to cut off the retreat by Genin. Kleber perceiving that a strong body of French had joined him, attacked the village of Fouli, which was carried by the bayonet, and then returned to charge the cavalry. The Mamelucs were cut off from the mountains of Naplouse; and the road by Genin was intercepted; upon which the whole body hesitated, and fled in great disorder to Mount Thabor, and Jordan, in which great numbers were drowned. Murat had surprized the governor of Damascus' son, at Jacoub's bridge, took his camp, slew great numbers of his army, and pursued them towards Damascus. The camp of the Mamelucs was taken, 500 camels, all their tents and provisions, and 250 prisoners. The villages of Nouzes, Genin and Fouli were burnt, and those who remained in them killed, but the Naplousians were spared. Murat instantly marched to Tabbarie, in

which he found a whole year's supply of ammunition and provisions. Bonaparte returned to the camp before Acre, with Bon's division and Murat's cavalry. The Mamelucs lost in this action nearly 5,000 men and all their magazines.

A party of Arabs having encamped near Mount Carmel, general Leturcq surprised them on the 30th, nineteenth, and took from them 800 head of cattle, and killed 60 men.

The operations of the siege were continued with great vigour; the garrison protected their sorties by new works, whilst the French endeavoured to undermine the walls and the towers; on the 5th Floreal, April 24th, the mine exploded, but without its intended effect....the grenadiers were ordered to enter by the breach into the tower, but the garrison threw so many combustibles among them that they were obliged to retire.

On the 12th, May first, a strong battery was completed, and opened against the tower which had been so frequently attempted; upon which the garrison sallied out in considerable force; but their retreat being cut off, a considerable number, not protected by their own works, were driven into the sea; their whole loss amounted to 500 men.

About 10 o'clock in the evening of the 16th, fifth, Bonaparte ordered an attack upon the out-works; the Turks stationed in them were surprized, and almost all of them slain.

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On the following night, another general assault was made, but the works were so powerfully defended, that with all their courage the French could not maintain their position in the tower. A similar attempt was made on the night of the 18th, seventh, and although the French troops completely succeeded in carrying the works, and weakening the garrison by a great slaughter of the soldiers who were posted in them, they could not advance, and after a severe conflict retired with the loss of 150 men and 17 officers. Bonaparte ordered another attack on the following morning, but it ended like the former attempts; the combat continued throughout the day, and at night they retreated to the camp. A very considerable reinforcement of men and provisions was landed on the 19th, eighth, and animated the garrison with new energy.

On the 21st, tenth, three assaults were made, but the force with which the garrison had been augmented rendered them ineffectual: the slaughter had been so great among the Turks, that an infectious disorder was anticipated, as the bodies remained in the works not buried: a flag of truce was immediately sent to Djezzar to propose a suspension of arms whilst the dead were interred, and to establish an exchange of prisoners. The only answer which was given was the continuation of the firing from the batteries. Two sorties were made by the garrison on the

27th, sixteenth, but without success; the assailants were obliged to retire at all points.

A flag of truce left Acre on the 28th, seventeenth, accompanied by the Turk who had been sent to Djézzar. His answer was, that the English guns were the only reply he had to make....he brought with him the proclamation of the Turkish government, sanctioned by sir Sidney Smith, which was read to all the army.

*“ The Ministry of the Sublime Porte, to the Generals, Officers and Soldiers of the French army in Egypt.*

“ The French directory forgetful of the rights of nations, has deceived you, surprised your good faith, and in contempt of the laws of war, sent you to Egypt, a country subject to the Sublime Porte, by persuading you that the Sublime Porte itself had consented to the invasion of its own territory.

“ Can you entertain any doubts but that the only object of the directory in sending you to a remote country was to banish you from France, and to plunge you into an abyss of dangers; If, completely ignorant of the truth, you have invaded the territory of Egypt, and are made the instruments to violate treaties of the most solemn kind, must you not attribute this to the perfidy of the directory? Egypt must however be freed from so iniquitous an invasion, and vast armies are now in march, and the sea is covered with formidable squadrons, for the attainment of that object.

“ Those among you of whatever rank they may be, who wish to extricate themselves from the imminent peril to which they are exposed, are called upon to signify their intentions, without delay, to the commanders of the land and sea forces of the allied powers. They may be confident of a safe conduct to whatever place they may be desirous to proceed, and they



shall receive passports to protect them on their voyage from the squadrons and cruizers of the allied powers. Let them then hasten to take advantage of the benignant disposition of the Sublime Porte, and let them consider it as a propitious occasion to extricate themselves from the horrible gulf into which they are precipitated.

“ Done at Constantinople, the 11th of the moon Ramazan, in the year of the Hegira 1213, and February 5th, 1799.”

The officer who brought this address returned without an answer, and the firing continued....but this on the part of the French was a mere feint, for Bonaparte had resolved immediately to return into Egypt. His army was in a very sickly condition; with much difficulty they procured provisions; his heavy artillery had been captured; the army against which he fought exceeded thrice the number of his troops, besides the marine force under sir Sidney Smith; his presence was immediately necessary in Egypt, to quell the appearance of disorder which had been excited in his absence....the expectation of a large Turkish force at Alexandria was an additional motive; the whole country was opposed to him; and the season would soon have altogether precluded his return: this proclamation was therefore issued:....

“ *Head-Quarters before Acre, 28th Floreal,  
May seventeen.*

“ Soldiers ! You have traversed the desert which separates Africa from Asia, with more rapidity than an Arabian army could have done. The army which had marched to invade Egypt you have destroyed; you have taken its general, all their field equipage, baggage and camels. You took possessi-



on of all the strong holds and fortresses which guard the wells of the Desert. You dispersed on the fields of Mount Thabor that cloud of men who had collected from all parts of Asia, with the hope of plundering Egypt. The 30 ships which you saw arrive at Acre 12 days since, contained an army intended to besiege Alexandria ; but compelled to come to the relief of Acre, it has there finished its career....a part of their colours will decorate your re-entrance into Egypt. In short, after having, with a handful of men, sustained a war of three months in the heart of Syria, taken 40 pieces of field cannon, 50 colours, 6,000 prisoners, destroyed the fortifications of Gaza, Jaffa, Caiffa and Acre, we are about to return into Egypt. The season of debarkation in that country calls me back. A few days more, and you had well grounded hopes of taking the Pacha in the midst of his palace ; but at this season the capture of the fortress of Acre is no longer worth a day's delay, and the brave men whom I must lose by continuing the siege are become necessary in the prosecution of more essential operations.

“Soldiers ! We have a further career to run of danger and fatigue. After having deprived the East of the means of annoying us in this campaign, it may perhaps be necessary to oppose ourselves to the efforts of the West. You will find new fields of glory ; and if amidst so many combats, each day shall be marked by the death of a brave man, new heroes must arise, and take rank in their turn, amongst the small number who lead in danger, and by their example command victory.

“BONAPARTE.”

During the night the sick and wounded began to remove, and the artillery was withdrawn. The advanced guard immediately marched to secure the passes. On the 1st Prairial, May 20, two sorties were made by

the garrison, who, enraged at the destruction of Djezzar's palace, and many other edifices, fought with unprecedented obstinacy, but they were at length obliged to return into the town with great loss. The heavy artillery being entirely removed, all the useless materials were cast into the sea; and on the same night, after a siege of sixty days, the trenches were evacuated. The army retired in perfect order, and with so much secrecy that their return was not perceived by the garrison until the following day. At Cantoura they sunk 22 pieces of cannon, and after punishing the villages which had aided the Turks, destroying the fortifications of Jaffa, raising from that town 150,000 livres, setting fire to the grain in the vicinity of Ibrel and other villages; taxing Gaza 100,000 livres, and blowing up its fort; on the 26th Prairial, June fourteenth, Bonaparte arrived at Cairo, where preparations had been made for his reception; illuminations, triumphal arches, &c. were exhibited in honour of the army of Syria.

On the 23d Messidor, July eleventh, 100 sail of vessels anchored at Aboukir; the troops landed on the 27th, fifteenth, carried the fort by the most intrepid assault, and having landed their artillery, intrenched themselves on the peninsula. Immediately as Bonaparte heard this intelligence, he left Cairo, and on the 7th Thermidor, July twenty-fifth, appeared before the Turkish army. The Pacha had posted his army so as to

form three lines of defence, defended by artillery and gun boats. On the right 1,200 Turks occupied a post with 4 pieces of cannon; the retreat of these was cut off by Destaing; on the left 2,000 Turks, with 6 pieces of cannon, were stationed; these were attacked by Lasnes, and by the activity of Murat's body of cavalry, the whole of the two corps, preferring death to a capitulation, were either killed or wounded: in the centre a redoubt was defended by 9,000 men and 12 pieces of cannon; this was attacked by Destaing and Lasnes....the Turks fought with enthusiastick valour, but the cavalry advancing, they slung their muskets behind them, took to their swords and pistols, and endeavoured to wrest the bayonets from the French who assailed the intrenchments; Murat as the redoubt was forced in front, charged all the positions in the rear, cut off their retreat into the fort, and completed the defeat; resolved not to capitulate, they followed the example of their comrades, and about 7,000 of them perished in the sea. The Pacha was captured, with 200 Turks; 2,000 were dead on the field; the tents, baggage, cannon, and all the army equipage, was taken, and the fort immediately ceased to fire; but the fleet having communicated with the fort in the evening, they determined to defend it to the last extremity: the garrison were summoned on the 8th, twenty-sixth, and on the 15th, August second, surrendered. The Pacha's son,

with 2,000 men, were prisoners; in the fort were found 1,800 dead and wounded. By this expedition the Turks lost 18,000 men.

The following had been previously issued:

### ARMY OF THE EAST.

#### “ GENERAL ORDERS.

“ *Thermidor 14th, August first.*

#### “ BONAPARTE, GENERAL IN CHIEF.

“ The name of Aboukir was fatal to all Frenchmen. The 7th Thermidor, July twenty-fifth, has rendered it glorious. The victory which the army has gained accelerates its return to Europe.

“ We have conquered Mentz and the limits of the Rhine, by invading a part of Germany. We have now re-conquered our establishments in India, and those of our allies, by a single operation. We have put into the hands of government the power to force England, and notwithstanding its maritime triumphs, to a peace glorious for the republic.

“ We have suffered much: we have had to fight enemies of every kind: we have them still to conquer: but, at length, the result will be worthy of you, and we shall merit the thanks of our country.”

Soon after these events Bonaparte determined to return to France; he therefore ordered admiral Ganteaume to prepare two frigates and two sloops for a voyage, and addressed a sealed note to all those whom he intended should accompany him, with directions that it should not be opened until a certain day, at a particular hour, and upon a given spot on the sea-shore. The day appointed was the 5th Fructidor, August twenty-second; the whole party attended as they were commanded, Ber-



thier alone being acquainted with the design : having broken the seals of their notes they found that they were immediately to embark : at one in the morning of the 6th, twenty-third, Menou informed Lasnes, Murat, Marmont, &c. that Bonaparte was waiting for them on the beach : leaving their baggage and horses, they were received on board, and after a short detention by contrary winds, departed from the road of Aboukir on the 7th, twenty-fourth.

He appointed Kleber chief, gave to Desaix the command in Upper Egypt, and wrote to the army, dated Fructidor 6th, August twenty-third :....

“ In consequence of news from Europe, I have determined immediately to return to France. I resign the command of the army to general Kleber. They shall hear from me speedily. This is all I can say to them at present. It grieves me to the heart to part from the brave men to whom I am so tenderly attached. But it will be for an instant only ; and the general whom I leave at their head is in full possession of the confidence of the government, and of mine.”

Bonaparte arrived at Ajaccio on the 9th Vendemiaire, September thirtieth, and was received with the utmost enthusiasm ; his little fleet saw no vessel during the passage.... the wind obliged the ships to stay in that port until the 14th, October fifth, when they weighed anchor, and the following evening being in sight of the French coast, and distant ten leagues only from Toulon, they per-



ceived an English squadron of eight sail. The moon was covered with a thick fog, and the signal guns of the squadron which was endeavouring to intercept the passage of the French frigates were heard. A council was immediately held on board the frigate in which Bonaparte sailed, to decide whether they should return to Corsica, or attempt to reach the shore. Bonaparte now assumed the command: "Be not alarmed," said he, "fortune will not abandon me, let us steer directly for the coast." The signals were made accordingly, and at midnight they lost all apprehension, being too near the shore to indulge any fears of an attack. At day break they saw Frejus, and about nine in the morning of the 16th, seventh, anchored near St. Rapheau. Bonaparte with his companions and suite arrived at Frejus about two, amidst an immense concourse of people. When they landed they prostrated themselves to embrace the ground, whilst the spectators in the most rapturous transports of joy shouted on all sides "Vive la Republique! Vive Bonaparte!" The magistrates of Frejus received them with triumphal honours. Lasnes and Murat being wounded, accompanied the crews to Toulon.

At six o'clock in the evening of the 17th, eighth, Bonaparte left Frejus and proceeded to Paris, with Berthier, Monge, Bertholet and Arnaud. The courier who had been sent to announce his arrival to the directory,

and to prepare horses for his journey, called for them in his name : the crowd of spectators was so great as frequently to impede the progress of the carriages : every town through which he passed at night was illuminated, and his whole journey was one continued triumphal procession. At Lyons they gave him a splendid reception ; a short theatrical piece called the “ Hero’s Return,” was composed and represented immediately ; the performers read their parts, there being no time to commit them to memory : when he entered the theatre, the acclamations and thunders of applause were inconceivable, and when he retired, the citizens followed him to his lodgings. He reached Paris Vendemiaire 25th, October sixteenth, and on the following day had a private audience of the directory. The courts and all the streets leading to the Luxembourg were on this occasion filled with the citizens : he appeared very sensible of these testimonials of joy : among others he observed many of the soldiers who had served with him in Italy ; these he called to him, shook them by the hand, expressed much friendship for them, and treated them with unusual affability. He was dressed in a grey riding coat, without uniform, a Turkish sabre hung in a silk scarf over his shoulder, his hair was short, without powder, and his tawny complexion, acquired by the sun of Egypt, gave him a greater appearance of manliness and strength than he possessed previous

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to his departure from Europe. His visit being concluded, he waited upon the ministers of war, marine, and the other high officers in the service of the republick.

*Bonaparte's appointment to the First Consulship.*

BONAPARTE first saw Moreau at the house of Gohier, president of the directory, a few days after his arrival in Paris. "General," said he, "I had several of your lieutenants with me in Egypt, and they are very distinguished officers."

Three days elapsed before he met Sieyès, which supports the opinion of those who assert that the subsequent events were not the effect of a plan concerted previous to his return. Bonaparte was very cautious in all his intercourse with the politicians, but to the army he was affable and condescending. He discovered his country's situation to be very unpleasant....the armies were suffering through want, and every where defeated....public credit was injured, and the government was disunited, rash and imbecile to a degree.

Bonaparte's presence kindled a spirit of enthusiasm inexpressible; all parties looked to him as the cause of some unknown good to the republic; they trusted unreservedly in him for peace and every other blessing:....his courage, military art, affability of man-



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ners ; his acuteness, penetration, coolness, vigour and presence of mind ; his boldness in design, and intrepidity in execution ; his firmness, activity and perseverance ; his unparalleled sublime genius, which distinguished difficulties from impossibilities, and improved every event to his own advantage....his former letters, speeches and actions, and his almost miraculous return from Egypt, having escaped through a swarm of English, Turkish and Russian ships of war, all proclaimed him to be the man who was appointed to redress the grievances of the nation, and excited the unbounded confidence of the people.

Although the republick was surrounded by victorious enemies, and involved in war ; and although the last campaign had been very unsuccessful, Paris at this eventful crisis was filled with generals....Bonaparte and Moreau were attended by Berthier, Lefebvre, Serrurier, Macdonald, Murat, Berryer and others : their presence which at another time would have occasioned jealousy and dissatisfaction, was now hailed with ecstasy ; and every passion, every principle seemed lost in the contemplation of Bonaparte, their idol, and the admiration of the world.

Sieyes and Bonaparte quickly adjusted a change in the form of government....the former had long been contriving it, but having no force to execute his schemes, it had been delayed ; the return of that general was propitious to

the plan, and his talents were exactly suited to perfect the whole.

The directory ordered a feast in honour of Bonaparte and Moreau, and on the 16th Brumaire, November seventh, it was observed. The temple of victory was adorned in the most magnificent manner: the walls were decorated with the standards taken in battle from the enemies of the republick....the president of the council of ancients was at the head of the table....Gohier president of the directory, was on his right hand....Moreau on his left. Then followed Lucien Bonaparte, president of the council of five hundred, Napoleon, &c. Gohier gave for his toast "Peace;"....the latter "The Union of all Frenchmen." An air of constraint and silence was evident throughout the whole feast ....the ceremony continued about three hours, and served no other purpose than to solemnize the union of Bonaparte and Moreau, and that of all parties.

When he returned to the house appointed for his residence, he found Madame La Fayette and her daughter waiting to express their sense of his kindness in delivering her husband from the Austrian dungeon.

On the evening of the day after the feast, a small number of the members of both councils assembled at Lemercier's house, who had been elected president of the council of ancients. This party consisted of Bonaparte, Sieyes, Lemercier, Lucien Bonaparte, Bou-

lay de la Meuthe, Courtois, Cabanis, Regnier, Fargues, Villetard, Chazal, Barillon, Bouleville, Cornet, Vimar, Delecloy, Fregeville, Le Hatry, Goupil, Preselyn, Rousseau, Herwyn, Cornudet. These legislators, after swearing to maintain secrecy, departed to secure the support of all their friends to aid in the execution of the scheme; while the proper officers were charged to prepare plans of jacobin conspiracies, in case the occasion should demand them.

The translation of the residence of the legislative bodies by the vote only of the council of ancients was an article of the constitution, and became the main spring of the intended revolution. At four o'clock in the morning of the 18th Brumaire, November ninth, the committee of inspectors sent messages to 150 members of the council of ancients, most of them ignorant of the measure, to meet at eight o'clock in the Thuilleries.

When the assembly was formed, and nearly 100 of the violent jacobins were absent, Cornet ascended the tribune, represented the dangers which threatened the country, and the necessity of speedy and effective measures for its deliverance from them.

Regnier then declared the remedy which had been proposed; to transport the legislative bodies to a commune near Paris, where they might deliberate in security on the best means to extricate the country, assuring them also that general Bonaparte was

ready to execute their decree ; he therefore moved that the council should be translated to St. Cloud ; that this translation should take place on the following day ; that Bonaparte should be charged with its execution, and take the necessary measures for the security of the national representation ; that he should be invested with the general command of all the troops in Paris, including their own and the national guards ; that he should be called into the council to take the requisite oaths ; and that a message containing the resolution of the council should be sent to the directory, and to the council of five hundred.

An address was voted to the people, stating their right to remove the legislature, and the motives which actuated this step : they alledged that their object was to repress insubordination, faction and commotion, and to obtain a speedy peace, internal and external. These reasons in conjunction with their confidence in Bonaparte, sufficed to calm the Parisians, who patiently waited to see the issue of these extraordinary measures.

The decree was notified to Bonaparte whilst surrounded by a numerous staff. He obeyed the summons, accompanied by Moreau, Berthier, Lefevre, Macdonald and others. Being informed by the president



of his appointment, he addressed the representatives thus :

“ *Citizens Representatives,*

“ The republick was on the brink of ruin, but your decree has saved it. Woe be to those who wish for anarchy. Assisted by my brave companions, I will arrest their course. Let us not seek in the past, examples to justify the present. Nothing in history resembles the close of the 18th century, nor is any thing in it like the present moment.

“ Your wisdom has issued the decree ; our arms shall put it in execution. We will have a republick founded on the right basis, on civil liberty and national representation : we will have it, I swear ! I swear it in my own name, and in that of my brave comrades !”

“ I swear it,” was immediately returned by the other generals, and the sitting was dissolved amid the cries of “ *Vive la Republique !*”

The Ancients message being read by the council of Five Hundred, the deputies who were not in the secret, or who favoured the Jacobin party, were astonished and silent. The law which had been passed by the Ancients was read, and the council adjourned, some crying “*Vive la Republique !* others *Vive la Constitution !*”

The members of the councils having departed, the committees of inspectors remained in the room belonging to the Ancients, to concert measures according to the urgency of affairs, Bonaparte's staff being assembled at the same place to preserve tranquillity, and to remove the councils to St. Cloud.



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The walls of Paris were immediately covered with proclamations which had been previously prepared: in one Bonaparte announced that the council of ancients had commissioned him to take measures for the safety of the legislative body; that its removal to St. Cloud was necessary, to guarantee it from the danger with which it was threatened by the disorganization of every part of the administration. In another he informed the soldiers that he had taken the command of the army to execute measures devised solely for the benefit of the people. "In what state," said he, "did I leave France? In what state have I found it? I left you conquests, and the enemy are passing your frontiers! I left you arsenals well supplied, and you are without arms: your cannon have been sold; robbery has been reduced to a system, and the resources of the state are drained: recourse has been had to vexatious means, repugnant alike to justice and propriety: the soldier has been left without defence. For two years past the republick has been badly governed; you have hoped that my return would put a stop to such a train of evils; you have celebrated it by an union which imposes on me the obligations which I am attempting to fulfill. You will do your duty; you will second your general with that firmness and confidence which I have ever remarked in you. Liberty, victory and peace, will again establish the French republick in the rank which it

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held among the nations of the earth, and which could only have been lost by folly and treason."

These proclamations were accompanied by two notices, exhorting the citizens to pay no attention to the suggestions of those who love disorder, and informing them that the measures which would be adopted were intended to re-establish interior order, to restore liberty, and to fix the republick on sure foundations. His address to the officers of the national guard was particularly emphatical. "A new order of things is about to take place; the council of ancients will save the republick; whoever opposes it shall perish by the bayonet of the soldier." The conferring the chief command on Bonaparte, and its consequences immediately followed each other. The garden of the Thuilleries was instantly filled with 10,000 infantry and cavalry. The principal posts in and around Paris, the bridges, the Luxembourg, the hall of the council of five hundred, the military school, the invalids, St. Cloud and Versailles, were entrusted to Marmont, Serrurier, Lasnes, Macdonald, Berthier, Murat, Andreossi, and other generals. Bonaparte had formed his dispositions and harangued his troops in the court, three of the directors and all the rest of Paris being ignorant of every part of the change....Sieyes and Ducos waited the result of the meeting: the former was walking in the garden of the Luxembourg,

and the latter was in his apartments, when they received the message from the ancients, upon which they repaired immediately to the committees of the inspectors at the Thuilleries. Barras was the first of the three other directors who became acquainted with the change. He was invited to give in his resignation in the morning ; he hesitated for some time, but at length found it unavoidable.

Gohier, who was to have breakfasted with Bonaparte, rising late on the following day, was surprised to find the decree of the council of ancients on his table. He repaired to the audience chamber of the directory, where Moulins met him, equally ignorant and astonished. Their perplexity was increased, when on inquiring for Sieyes and Ducos, they heard that they were gone to the Thuilleries, and that Barras refused to join in their deliberations. The secretary was then called to write the arrets which they were about to form ; but their agitation was excessive when he observed, that two members could not form a majority, and that it was impossible for him to do as they requested. Moulins now ordered the house of Bonaparte to be surrounded, but it was discovered that the guard had deserted, and gone to the Thuilleries. General Lefevre was then summoned to appear before them ; he came, but bowing answered, that an irrevocable decree which had just been issued by the council of ancients, invested general Bonaparte with the supreme command of all

the troops in Paris; that he was now a subaltern only, and that he could not march a single man without his permission.

Whilst Bonaparte was engaged in conversation with Sieyes and Ducos, on the subjects under consideration, Augereau approaching, addressed him with all possible cordiality; "General, you did not send for me, but I have come unsought, to join you." The directorial palace was soon invested by a troop of soldiers, and Moulins did not wait to be arrested, but jumping out of the window, escaped across the garden of the Luxembourg. Gohier repaired to the Thuilleries, where, as president of the directory, he put the seal to the decree for the translation to St. Cloud, which had already been signed by Sieyes and Ducos; he persisted in neither resigning his station, nor delivering the seal of state, and returned to the Luxembourg, where he was under guard until the next evening; when perceiving that the power of the directory was destroyed, a new government formed, and the consuls in office, he quietly retired to his house at St. Chaumont.

Immediately after Gohier had signed the decree, Sieyes and Ducos resigned their offices, and Barras speedily followed their example. He sent his secretary Botot to Bonaparte, himself remaining in his carriage near the Thuilleries, until he returned with the report of his interview. Bonaparte was in the inspector's apartment when Botot desired



to speak with him. He was introduced by Courtois, and having presented the letter, wished to know if Bonaparte had any answer for Barras. "Tell him," said Bonaparte, "that I desire to hear no more of him, and that I trust I shall ever make the authority respected which is entrusted to me." Then raising his voice, he said: "The army has cordially united with me, and I cordially act with the legislative body. What have you done with the country which I left so flourishing? I left you peace and I have found war. I left you victory and I have found defeat. I left you the treasures of Italy, and I find nothing but oppression and poverty. Where are the hundred thousand heroes, my companions in arms, whom I left covered with glory? What is become of them? Alas, they are no more! This state of things cannot last long; in three years it will end in despotism. But we are for a republick, founded on the basis of equality, civil liberty and political toleration. If you believe the assertions of the factious, we are the enemies of the republick; we who have strengthened it by our labours and cemented it with our blood; but we wish for no better patriots than the brave men who have suffered in its service." When he had finished his harangue, the most extravagant acclamations and applause followed, and Bonaparte requested Botot to tell Barras "that he was inviolably attached to him, and would protect



him against his enemies." Barras alarmed for his personal safety, immediately withdrew to Gros Bois, his country house, guarded by a detachment of cavalry, whom Bonaparte ordered to attend him. Sieyes and Ducos passed the night at the Thuilleries with the inspectors.

On the 19th of Brumaire, November tenth, before break of day, multiplied detachments of infantry and cavalry occupied all the posts and the neighbourhood of the palace of St. Cloud. The legislature arrived there about noon, with Sieyes and Ducos, who were soon followed by Bonaparte, Berthier, Murat, Marmont and the staff. The court of the castle and the village were filled with spectators. At half past two the council of ancients formed in the chamber called the gallery. A motion was made to inquire into the cause of their removal, but this was superseded by a demand to know if the directory and the council of five hundred were also assembled, as by the constitution they must reside in the same commune. Lagarde, the secretary, replied, that four of the directors had resigned, and that a fifth was under military guard....this letter was transmitted to the other council. At this instant Bonaparte entered the hall, and the whole council listened to him with profound silence. "Your solicitude," said he, "for the salvation of your country, has called me before you. I will not dissemble, for I will

speak always with the frankness of a soldier. You stand on a volcano, but you may depend on our devoted attachment. I have come here with my brave companions in arms. Crowned as they are with victory, they present to you that security which is the result of the services which they have done their country. To what purpose is it to talk of Cæsar or Cromwell, and of a military government? If we are invited by your confidence, we shall know how to justify it. It is also proper to declare to you that vigorous measures are necessary. Plots are at this moment in existence; crimes are hatching; nor are your dangers those alone with which you are immediately threatened. The minister of police has just received the most disastrous news from La Vendee, announcing the progress of the rebels, and the reduction of several towns. Let us not be divided. Associate your wisdom to the force which surrounds me. I will be nothing but the devoted arm of the republick." One of the members added, "And of the constitution!" "The constitution," resumed Bonaparte, "Does it become you to invoke the constitution? Have you not trodden it under your feet? The constitution! Is it any thing else than a pretext and cloak for all manner of tyranny? Has not every species of tyranny been exercised in its name from the day of its establishment? Who can in future be gua-

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ranted by it? Is not its insufficiency attested by the numerous outrages committed under its sanction by the very people who are swearing a contemptuous fidelity to it? All the rights of the people have been atrociously violated under the mask of a regard for the constitution; it is for your wisdom and firmness to re-establish those sacred rights, and to use means for the salvation of the country. The time for putting a period to these disasters is now come. You have charged me to present you with the means. Had I harboured personal designs, or views of usurpation, I should not have waited until this day in order to realize them. Before my departure, and since my return, I have been solicited by the heads of different parties to take possession of the publick authority. Barras and Moulins proposed to me to seize the government; but I repulsed such overtures, because liberty is dearer to me than life, and because I wish to serve the French people only. I could make discoveries which would instantly confound the greater part of my calumniators, but it is unnecessary; I only declare to you that as soon as the danger shall be past, I will abdicate the command which has been confided to me. I will be the supporting arm only of the magistracy whom you may think proper to nominate."

Bonaparte now retired from the hall and addressed the soldiers and people: "Turn" said he, "your bayonets against me, when-

ever you find me an enemy to liberty, but if any person dare pronounce against me the words "*Hors la loi*," the thunder of war shall crush him instantly: remember that I march accompanied by the divinity of Fortune and the God of War." Having returned to the hall, he declared that if it were necessary he would name the conspirators. "It is time to speak out," said he, "and I have no designs which I wish to keep secret. I am not the instrument of any faction, I am the servant of the French people. The constitution too often violated, is utterly inadequate to the salvation of the people. It is indispensably necessary to have recourse to means fitted to carry into execution the sacred principles of the sovereignty of the people, civil liberty, freedom of speech as of thought; and in a word, the realization of ideas hitherto only chimerical. Since my arrival," continued Bonaparte, "every magistrate, and every publick functionary with whom I have conversed, have given me the most perfect conviction that the constitution, so often violated, and continually disregarded, is on the brink of ruin; that it offers no guarantee to the French, because it has no diapason. Every faction is persuaded of this truth, and each is disposed to take advantage of the fall of the present government; all have had recourse to me, all have been anxious to gain me over to their respective interests. I have thought it my duty to join myself to the coun-



cil of ancients alone, the first body of the republick. I repeat that this council cannot take too speedy measures, if it be desirous to stop the movements which in a moment, perhaps, may destroy liberty. Recollect yourselves, citizens representatives, I have just spoken openly to you truths which no one has ventured to whisper. The means of saving the country are in your hands. If you hesitate to make use of them, if liberty perish, you will be accountable for its destruction to the world, to posterity, to your own families, and to France."

Having concluded his address, Bonaparte withdrew, leaving them to deliberate on what he had said. At 4 o'clock the council was resolved into a committee, and at 5 adjourned until 9 the same evening.

The council of five hundred opened its sitting in the Orangery, about one o'clock, P. M. of which 45 members only were absent. The proces verbal being read, Gaudin rose and moved that a commission of seven members should make a report on the situation of the state, propose such measures as should be deemed necessary for the publick interest, and that the council should suspend all deliberations till the report was presented. No sooner had he finished his speech, than the jacobin members began to vociferate: *a bas les dictateurs ! la constitution de l'an 3, ou la mort ! les baionnettes ne*

*nous effrayent pas : nous saurons mourir a notre poste ! down with the dictators ! the constitution of the third year, or death ! bayonets do not affright us : we know how to die at our post !*" some of them moving for a message to the council of ancients, to know the motives of the translation ; others for the renewal of the oath of fidelity to the constitution. When the first tumult had ceased, the proposition for the renewal of the oath was formally made by Grandmaison, and carried ; the whole of the members rising and exclaiming "*Vive la Constitution !*" When the swearing was finished, which occupied nearly two hours, the secretary read a letter from Ber-goeng, who sent in his resignation ; and two messages from the council of ancients, informing the council of five hundred of their being installed, and of their suspending their deliberations till they received similar information from themselves. A motion was then made and adopted, that notice of the installation of the council at St. Cloud should be sent to the directory.

The council of five hundred had just finished individually taking an oath to defend the constitution, when Bonaparte presented himself at the door of the assembly, without a hat and unarmed, accompanied by a few officers and four grenadiers without arms. He advanced a few paces into the room, as if wishing to address the council : the whole of them was instantly in motion.

He was assailed by cries from different parts of the chamber of, *a bas le tyran ! hors la loi ! a bas le dictateur ! tuez le ! tuez le ! down with the tyrant ! out-law him ! down with the dictator ! kill him ! kill him !* Lucien Bonaparte, president, with great difficulty at last obtained leave to speak: "The general," said he, "has undoubtedly no other intention than to inform the council of the present situation of affairs:" here he was interrupted by clamours and threats. A great number of the members started from their seats, rushed towards the door, and loaded him with reproaches. Several of them were armed with daggers. While some were pushing him back and menacing his life, Arena, one of the council, made a blow at him with a poignard, which Thome a grenadier parried, and thereby received a wound in his arm. Upon this general Lefevre, and the grenadiers who were behind him, advanced, calling out, *Sauvons notre general !* gathered round him, and led him out of the room. As soon as he was gone, Lucien left the chair, and descending to the tribune: "After the services," said he, "my brother has rendered to the republick, it is abominable to suppose he has any views hostile to liberty. What Frenchman has given greater pledges of his attachment to the state? He came, no doubt, to give some important information relative to the present circumstances; I demand that he be called to the bar of the council." The

tumult drowned his voice ; numberless motions succeeded each other ; some for annulling the decree of the ancients, which named Bonaparte general ; others for leaving St. Cloud, and repairing to Paris ; others for naming another general to take the command of all the troops, who should be called the guard of the councils : some reproached the soldiers who remained at the door, and others continued their invectives against the president. Lucien Bonaparte, after attempting in vain to speak, deposed his robe, cloak and scarf on the table, declaring that he divested himself of the presidency. This raised the jacobins to a higher pitch of exasperation ; several members of that party gathered round him and presented pistols, to force him to resume his robe. Amidst this disorder, twenty grenadiers sent by Bonaparte, appeared at the foot of the tribune, and placing him between them, conducted him in safety to the court of the palace. The president found the general on horseback haranguing his soldiers. " Soldats," said he, " une trentaine de factieux ont leve sur moi leurs poignards ; ils ont voulu me mettre hors la loi ! Hors la loi, moi que tous les rois conjures de l'Europe n'ont jamais pu y mettre !" " Soldiers, thirty factious members have raised their poignards against your general, and threatened to out-law him ! Me whom the combined kings of Europe have not been able to reach with their arms !" The soldiers



heard him with interest and attention; they all seemed disposed to serve him, and the presence of Lucien, on horseback, and who addressed them, increased and legalised this disposition. "Soldiers of the republick," said Lucien Bonaparte, with great animation, "the immense majority of the council of five hundred are, at the moment I am speaking, under terror from a few representatives armed with poignards, who are besieging the tribune, and threatening their colleagues with death! These desperate ruffians have risen in rebellion against the council of ancients, and dared to menace with outlawry the general who was charged with the execution of their decree. I confide to you warriors, to whom I speak, the care of delivering the majority of your representatives from the oppression which they are under, that they may deliberate peaceably on the destiny of the republick. General, and you soldiers, you will acknowledge as legislators of France none but such as shall rally around me. As for those who remain in the Orangery, let force expel the mad assembly; they are no longer representatives of the people, but representatives of the poignard." He terminated his harangue with the shout of *Vive la Republique!* which was re-echoed by the soldiers and all the spectators. The speech of the president of the council had created stronger emotions, and furnished more determined motives to the soldiers, than that of the general; who per-

ceiving their alacrity, and being sanctioned by the president, ordered a corps of grenadiers to march forward, who instantly obeyed him. The council of five hundred was at that moment listening to a motion for the recall of the president, when the voice of the speaker was drowned in the sound of the drums beating the *pas de charge*. The spectators instantly rushed out of the doors and windows. The members rose, a great majority of them vociferating, "*Vivent la Republique et la constitution de l'an 3me. Long live the republick, and the constitution of the 3d year!*" The soldiers entered the hall, carrying their arms, and halted. A chief of brigade of cavalry invited the members to withdraw, saying, *Citizens representatives, I invite you to retire: there is no longer any safety in this place: I have orders to clear the hall.* The grenadiers then advanced, and filled the first half of the hall. The other half was occupied by the deputies who had not yet retired. The military halted a moment to permit them to walk out. An officer seeing their hesitation, mounted the tribune, and exclaimed: *Citoyens representans, je vous invite a vous retirer; le general Bonaparte a donne des ordres: Citizens representatives, I invite you to retire; general Bonaparte has given the order.* The constitutionalists stood firm, and one of them exclaimed, "What are you, soldiers? You are the guardians only of the national

representation....and you dare to menace its safety and independence! Is it thus you tarnish the laurels which you have acquired? I conjure you in the name of liberty, not to follow your leaders, who aim at the destruction of the republick. Murat immediately called out, *Grenadiers forward!* The *pas de charge* was renewed, the grenadiers advanced, and drove the members with the bayonet through all the avenues, windows and doors of the hall. At night both the legislative bodies assembled again at St. Cloud, but of the five hundred scarcely two thirds were present. The latter at last decreed " that the directory had ceased to exist; that the provisional government of the state should be committed to Sieyes, Roger Ducos and general Bonaparte, who should bear the title of consuls; and that 25 members, chosen from the two legislative bodies before their adjournment, should be added to them as a subordinate council of state." At 1 o'clock of the next morning the council of ancients announced their approbation of the decree. The three consuls were then introduced and took the oaths of fidelity to the sovereignty of the people.

The following proclamation had been issued whilst the councils were sitting:

#### PROCLAMATION OF GEN. BONAPARTE.

" *Ten at night.*

" On my return to Paris, I found a division reigning amongst all the constituted authorities. There was no agreement but on this single point....that the constitution was half destroyed,

and could by no means effect the salvation of our liberties. All the parties came to me, confided to me their designs, unveiled their secrets, and demanded my support. I refused to be a man of any party. The council of ancients invited me, and I answered to their call. A plan of general restoration had been concerted by men in whom the nation is accustomed to see the defenders of its freedom and equality, and of property. This plan demanded a calm and liberal examination, free from every influence and fear. The council of ancients resolved in consequence, that the sittings of the legislative body should be removed to St. Cloud, and charged me with the disposition of the force necessary to secure its independence. I owed it my fellow-citizens, to the soldiers who are perishing in our armies, and to the national glory, acquired at the price of their blood to accept of the command. The councils being assembled at St. Cloud, the republican troops guaranteed their safety from without; but within, assassins had established the reign of terror. Several members of the council of five hundred, armed with poignards and fire-arms, circulated around them nothing but menaces of death. The plans which were about to be developed were laid aside, the majority was disorganized, the most intrepid orators were disconcerted, and the inutility of every wise proposition was made evident. I bore my indignation and my grief to the council of ancients, I demanded of them to insure the execution of their generous designs. I represented to them the maladies of their country, from which those designs originated. They joined themselves with me, by giving new testimonies of their uniform wishes. I then repaired to the council of five hundred without arms, and my head uncovered, such as I had been received and applauded by the ancients. I wished to recall to the majority their wishes, and to assure them of their power. The poignards which threatened the deputies, were instantly raised against their deliverer. Twenty assassins threw themselves upon me, and sought my breast. The grenadiers of the legislative body, whom I had



left at the door of the hall, came up and placed themselves between me and my assassins. One of these brave grenadiers, named Thome, had his clothes stuck through with a dagger. They succeeded in bearing me away. At this time the cry of "Outlaw!" was raised against the defender of the law. It was the ferocious cry of assassins against the force which was destined to restrain them. They pressed around the president, threatened him to his face, and with arms in their hands, ordered him to decree me out of the protection of the law. Being informed of this circumstance, I gave orders to rescue him from their power, and six grenadiers of the legislative body brought him out of the hall. Immediately after, the grenadiers of the legislative body entered at the *pas de charge* into the hall, and caused it to be evacuated. The factious were intimidated, and dispersed themselves. The majority, released from their blows, entered freely and peaceably into the hall of sitting, heard the propositions which were made to them for the publick safety deliberated, and prepared the salutary resolution which is to become the new and provisional law of the republick. Frenchmen! you will recognize undoubtedly in this conduct, the zeal of a soldier of liberty, and of a citizen devoted to the republick. The ideas of preservation, protection, and freedom immediately resumed their places, on the dispersion of the faction who wished to oppress the councils, and who in making themselves the most odious of men, never cease to be the most contemptible.

"BONAPARTE."

The consuls returned to Paris about 4 o'clock in the morning of the 20th, eleventh, and were received with every testimony of satisfaction and applause; they immediately entered upon their functions: the republican seal was changed, newspapers printed and sent to all the departments, detailing these events, and

an address to the same purport with that promulged in the evening at St. Cloud, read by torch-light.

During Bonaparte's address to the ancients, when he said "We will have a republic and liberty," he was interrupted by a voice exclaiming, "Who will answer for it?" "Grenadiers," said he, turning to the soldiers, "Did I ever deceive you when I promised you victory?" The phrase which he used in one of his addresses.... "Fortune and the God of War," made an unfavourable impression upon the ancients.... "I had worked up my passions," said he, "and I concluded with a bad phrase. The French are judges of propriety: I had no sooner pronounced the words, than a murmur made me feel them. But what could I do? I was spoiled on the road: they so often repeated these words to me all the way from Marseilles to Paris, that I could not obliterate them." Immediately after the 19th, tenth, several officers of the navy, and in the naval department, were presented to Bonaparte and Ducos: the former remarked; "The seamen are brave and experienced. The misfortunes with which they have met, are to be attributed to the bad management of the naval department only; the captains have not sufficient means to cause their authority to be respected; too much lenity has encouraged insubordination in the crews. On land undisciplined valour may sometimes be victorious; at sea, never."

The consuls were soon presented with a pattern of a new dress. It was composed of a coat of white velvet embroidered with gold, buttoned to the waist, light blue pantaloons, the sword belt over the coat, the sword to hang perpendicularly to the side, with red boots and cap. It was observed to Bonaparte that a red cap would not become him, he replied, "No more than red heels."

On the 21st Brumaire, November twelfth, Bonaparte entertained Thome, at his own table, to dinner; and Madame Bonaparte presented him with a diamond worth 2,000 crowns. The provisional government abolished the odious and oppressive laws relating to forced loans and hostages; adopted a new system of finance; repealed the decrees against the priests, and annulled the code of laws with respect to prizes, neutral vessels, &c. Fifty-nine of the jacobin deputies were ordered to be banished, but this was changed to placing them under the care of the police, and not long after was altogether abrogated....the emigrants confined in the castle of Ham were liberated....the body of the old Pope, which remained unburied at Valence, was ordered to be interred with all the honours due to his rank....and a variety of lenient, mild and just measures were executed, which presaged the happiest effects from the operations of the new government. The policy which was evinced in the interment of the Pope, and the intrinsic merit of the decree, demands its insertion:....

DECREE TO BURY THE POPE.

“ The consuls of the republic considering that for the last six months, the body of Pius 6th has been deposited in the city of Valence, without giving to it the honours of sepulture ....that though this old man, reputable for his misfortunes, was for a moment the enemy of France, he was so only from being seduced by the counsels of those who surrounded him : and that it belongs to the dignity of the French nation, and is conformable to the sensibility of the national character, to give some marks of consideration to a man who occupied one of the first stations on earth....Decree 1st, that the minister of the interior take care that the body of Pius 6th be interred with the honours due to his rank....2d, That there be erected at the place of his sepulture, a simple monument, making known the dignity with which he was invested.”

The commissions and consuls were also employed in the formation of a new constitution, which was adopted on the 23d Frimaire, December thirteenth, and published at Paris on the 25th, fifteenth ; by this constitution the whole direction of public affairs was delivered to Bonaparte, and his power was unrestrained and illimitable. He was declared first consul, Cambaceres and Lebrun were his associates in the consulship.... Talleyrand became foreign minister....Berthier minister of war, and Fouche of the police. The palace of the Thuilleries, in which Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette had figured, was now filled by the consul, who resided in the same apartments. Sieyes and Ducos, Cambaceres and Lebrun, nominated the senate....their choice was unexceptionable.



The tribunate and legislative body were immediately selected, and the council of state was appointed by Bonaparte himself: the integrity and talents which distinguished this body, gave ample proof of the consul's discrimination and judgment.

*Bonaparte during his Consulate.*

THE consuls having entered upon their duties under the new form of government, officially notified that circumstance to the conservative senate on the 7th Nivose, December twenty-seventh. Previous to which Bonaparte addressed the following letter to the king of Great-Britain :....

FRENCH REPUBLIC...SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE.

*Liberty....Equality.*

*BONAPARTE, First Consul of the Republic, to his Majesty the King of Great-Britain and Ireland.*

Paris, 5th Nivose, December twenty-fifth,  
8th year of the Republic.

“ Called by the wishes of the French nation to occupy the first magistracy of the republic, I think it proper on entering into office, to make a direct communication of it to your majesty. Must the war, which for eight years has ravaged the four quarters of the world, be eternal? Are there no means to bring it to an issue? How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong beyond what their safety and independence require, sacrifice to ideas of vain greatness the benefits of commerce, internal prosperity,

social and individual happiness? Can they not feel that peace is as glorious as it is necessary? These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your majesty, who reigns over a free nation, and with the sole view of rendering it happy. Your majesty will see only in this overture, my sincere desire to contribute efficaciously for the second time to a general pacification, by a step, speedy, entirely of confidence, and disengaged from those forms which, necessary perhaps to disguise the dependence of weak states, prove only in those which are strong, the mutual desire of deceiving each other. France and England, by the abuse of their strength, may still for a long time, for the misfortune of all countries, retard the period of their being exhausted: but I will venture to say, that the fate of every civilized nation is attached to the termination of a war which involves the whole world in its destructive vortex.

BONAPARTE."

The answer of lord Grenville to this note was evasive....it departed from general principles....and evinced pedantry, passion and petulance. Its substance was that Bonaparte was not a person with whom the British could treat; that he should declare himself an usurper; retract the principles which he asserted, and resign the station which he held to the Bourbon family. A similar attempt to negotiate proved ineffectual, and it was evident that the war must be continued. Bonaparte, with his usual energy, prepared to conquer a peace, as it could not otherwise be attained.

The war in La Vendee, which had assumed an alarming aspect, received the consul's attention, and a force which consisted of

nearly 60,000 men, under general Brune, was sent to quell the disturbances; the most decided measures were at once adopted, and the Chouans immediately proposed an accommodation. The consul addressed the insurgents in the following manner:

BONAPARTE, FIRST CONSUL.

*Paris, Nivose 5th, December twenty-fifth,  
8th year of the Republick.*

“An impious war threatens, a second time, to inflame the departments of the west. It becomes the duty of the first magistrates of the republick to arrest its progress, and effectually to extinguish it. But they are loath to employ force until they have exhausted the means of persuasion and justice. The authors of those troubles are the senseless partisans of two men who have no honour, and who neither derive their rank from their virtues, nor their misfortunes from their achievements. They are farther traitors sold to the English, or robbers who foment civil discord as the only means of sheltering them from the punishment due to their crimes.—With such men it is not the duty of government to keep any measures, or to make any declaration of its principles. It is to citizens dear to their country, who are seduced by their arts: it is to these citizens that the light of the truth is due.

“Uujust laws have been promulgated and executed; arbitrary acts have alarmed the security of the citizens, and the liberty of conscience. Every where random inscriptions on the list of emigrants have struck citizens, who had never quitted their country or even their homes. In a word, the great principles of social order have been violated.

“It is to remedy fully these acts of injustice, and these errors, that a government founded on the sacred basis of liberty, equality, and a system of representation, has been proclaimed and recognized by the nation. The constant in-



clination, as well as the interest and the glory of the first magistrates, whom the nation has given to itself, will be to close all the wounds of France: and never yet has this disposition been falsified by any act originating with them.

“The disastrous law of the forced loan, and the still more disastrous law of hostages have been repealed. Individuals exiled without trial have been restored to their country and to their families. Every day has been and shall be marked, by deeds of justice. The council of state labours incessantly for the reformation of bad laws, and for a better arrangement to raise the publick contributions.

“The consuls declare, moreover, that the liberty of religious worship is guaranteed by the constitution; that no magistrate dare to offer it any violence; that no man dares to say to another—you shall exercise such and such a mode of worship, on such and such a day.

“The law of the twentieth of May, 1795, which leaves to the citizens the free use of the edifices destined to religious purposes, shall be faithfully fulfilled. All the departments ought to be equally under the authority of general laws. But the first magistrates will extend their especial cares, and take a particular interest in the agriculture, manufactures and commerce of those who have suffered the greatest calamities. Government will pardon and shew grace to the penitent. Their forgiveness and indulgence will be unlimited. But it will strike those who, after this declaration, shall dare to resist the sovereign will of the nation.

“Frenchmen, inhabitants of the departments of the west, rally round the constitution, which invests the magistrates whom it has created with the power, and made it their duty to protect their citizens; which secures them equally from the instability of the laws, and from their severity. Let those who wish the prosperity of France separate themselves from those who persist in their efforts to seduce them, that they may deliver them over to the chains of tyranny and the domination

of the stranger. Let the good inhabitants of the country return to their fire-sides, and resume their useful labours. And let them be on their guard against the insinuations of those who would throw them again into feudal slavery. If, after all the measures just taken by government, there should yet be found men daring enough to provoke a civil war, there would remain to the chief magistrates the melancholy but necessary duty only of subduing them by force. But we even all of us, will henceforth feel only one sentiment: the love of our country. The ministers of the god of peace will be the first movers of reconciliation and concord. Let them speak to their hearts the language which they have learnt in the school of their master. Let them repair to the temples, again opened to them, to offer, together with their fellow-citizens, the sacrifice which will expiate the crimes of war, and the blood which has been shed."

On the same day Bonaparte issued a proclamation to the soldiers:

"In promising peace to the French nation, I was your organ. I know your valour. You are the men who have conquered Holland, the Rhine, Italy, and made peace under the walls of terrified Vienna.

"Soldiers it is no longer your business to defend your frontiers: you are now to invade the states of your enemies. There is not one among you who has made different campaigns, but who knows that the most essential duty of a soldier, is with patience and constancy to suffer privations. Several years of a bad government are not to be repaired in one day.

"It will be a pleasure to me, in the character of first magistrate, to proclaim to the nation the corps, which by its discipline and valour, shall best deserve to be hailed as the support of its country.

"Soldiers, in due time, I shall be in the midst of you; and astonished Europe shall recollect that you are a race of brave men."

The senate of Hamburg was involved in a contest with Bonaparte, respecting the surrender of Napper Tandy and his companions to the British government....they wrote him a submissive letter, filled with apologies, excuses and congratulations....his reply was dated Nivose 10th, December 30th.

"We have received your letter, gentlemen. It is no justification of your conduct. It is by virtue and courage that states are preserved: cowardice and vice prove their ruin. You have violated the laws of hospitality; such a violation would not have taken place among the barbarian hordes of the desert. Your fellow-citizens will impute it to you as an eternal reproach.

"The two unfortunate men, whom you have given up, will die illustrious; but their blood will be a source of greater evils to their persecutors than could be brought upon them by a whole army."

The departments not being perfectly tranquil, Bonaparte addressed them again on the 22d Nivose, January eleventh, 1800:

"Every thing that reason could suggest, the government has done to restore peace and tranquillity to your dwellings. After long forbearance, still farther time has been granted for repentance. A great number of citizens have been brought to a sense of their errors, and have rallied round the government, which, without hatred or revenge, without fear or suspicion, protects all citizens alike, and punishes those who despise their duty. There no longer remain any in arms against France, except some men without faith, as without country, some perfidious instruments of a foreign foe, or brigands, black with guilt, whom indulgence itself knows not how to pardon. The safety of the state, and the security of the citizens require

that such men should perish by the sword, and fall under the axe of natural justice. A longer forbearance would be a triumph to the enemies of the republic.—A valiant force waits the signal only to disperse and destroy these brigands, if that signal must be given. National guards join the force of your arms to that of the troops of the line. If you know among you any partisans of the brigands arrest them. Let them nowhere find an asylum against the soldier who pursues them. And if there be any traitors who should dare to receive and defend them, let them perish along with them ! Inhabitants of the departments of the west, on this last effort depend the tranquillity of your country, the safety of your families, and the security of your property. By the same blow you will destroy those wretches who strip you, and the enemy who purchase and pay for their crimes.”

The army and the royalists opposed each other in a few skirmishes, but the latter were always unsuccessful, and on the 27th Pluviose, February fifteenth, a general pacification was concluded....and by the execution of Frôtte, the only chief who was not included in the convention, and who was soon after discovered in an old castle....the royalist party was entirely annihilated.

The installation of the consuls took place on the 1st Ventose, February nineteenth, with immense pomp....the termination of the rebellion and the rejection of Bonaparte's pacific overtures by England and Austria, were announced at the same time. The following proclamation, which was published a few days after the ceremony, evinced that the war was to be continued with unparalleled vigour:



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 PROCLAMATION

*Of the Consuls of the Republick to the French.*

“ Paris, Ventose 17, March seventh.

“ *FRENCHMEN,*

“ You are desirous of peace ; your government are desirous of it with still greater ardour. Their first wishes, their persevering measures have been for peace. The English minister repels it : the English minister has betrayed the secret of his horrible system of politics. To ravage France, to destroy her ports ; to efface her from the map of Europe, or to degrade her to the rank of a secondary power ; to keep all the nations of the continent divided, that she may get possession of the commerce of all, and to enrich herself by their spoils ; it is to obtain these frightful successes, that England is prodigal of gold, profuse of promises, and that she multiplies intrigues.

But neither the gold, nor the promises, nor the intrigues of England, will chain to her views the powers of the continent. They have heard the wish of France ; they know the moderation of the principles which guide her ; they will listen to the voice of humanity, and the powerful voice of their interest.

Were it otherwise, the government which has not feared to offer and solicit peace, will remember that it is for you to command it. To command it we must have money, iron and soldiers.

Let all make haste to pay the tribute which they owe to the common defence ; let the young citizens march. It is no longer for factions....it is no longer for the choice of tyrants that they are going to arm ; it is for the guarantee of all which is most dear to them ; it is for the honour of France, and it is for the sacred interests of humanity and of liberty. Already have the armies resumed that attitude, the promise and the presage of victory...at the sight of them....at the sight of the whole nation united in the same interests and in the same wishes, be assured Frenchmen, that you will have no more enemies upon the continent. The first consul has promised

peace ; he will go and conquer it at the head of those warriors whom he has more than once led to victory. With them he will know how to find again those fields still full of the remembrance of their exploits ; yet in the midst of battle, he will still invoke peace, and he swears to fight only for the happiness of France, and the repose of the world !”

A decree was also published, that an army of reserve should be raised ; that it should consist of sixty thousand conscripts, and assemble at Dijon, the consul himself being commander in chief.

The campaign of 1800 was a combined operation and included the war both in Germany and Italy. General Moreau commanded on the Rhine, and by the success which accompanied his exertions, and the skill which he displayed during that contest, he has immortalized his memory....the hero of Hohenlinden hastened the peace of Luneville.

The different bodies of troops intended for the army of reserve immediately marched, and were speedily united in one body : on the 1st Floreal, April twentieth, Berthier assumed the command until Bonaparte's arrival....this army was composed of 50,000 men, and was intended to overthrow the preponderance which the Austrians had acquired in Italy. At the commencement of the campaign the troops under Massena who had been appointed to the command of that station, were diminished by sickness and desertion, to about 25,000 men....whilst Melas, the Austri-

an general, was at the head of 70,000 infantry and a large body of cavalry. The French general concentrated his forces near Genoa, the possession of which was of the last importance....but after a series of bloody conflicts, with the immense superiority of force against which he contended, he retired into the city and its neighbouring forts; and although blockaded by lord Keith's fleet on the water, and obliged to combat the Austrians without cessation, and by which defence he has elevated himself to a very exalted rank among the terrific sons of Mars, he resisted every summons and attempt until Melas converted the siege into a blockade: here he continued until his provisions were entirely exhausted, the horses and dogs almost consumed, and the army and inhabitants nearly two hundred thousand souls, perishing for want of food.

Massena at length received a letter from Melas, inviting him to an interview with lord Keith, and the generals Otto and St. Julian, who offered him a capitulation on the most honourable terms. To this first overture he replied, that he would consider of the proposal. On the day after he received another message with the same terms: upon which he sent adjutant-general Andréaux, under pretence of some business relating to the prisoners, to Rivoli, to receive their message, and to enter without any farther delay into a negotiation.

The first article of capitulation proposed by the allies was, that the army should return to France, but that the general should remain prisoner of war....“ You, sir,” said lord Keith to Massena, “ Are worth 20,000 men.” But Massena said, “ that no negotiation could be commenced if the word capitulation were once introduced.” On the fourth of June the allied generals, having departed from their first proposal, resumed the negotiations, and the principal articles for the evacuation of Genoa were agreed on between the parties. It was settled that the chiefs of the opposite armies should meet on the day after, being the 5th of June, to sign a definitive treaty. Here lord Keith, general Otto, with general St. Julian, were met by Massena. Each of these parties were accompanied by only two or three gentlemen.

In this conference Massena displayed much finesse under the cloak of an apparent gaiety, which formed a complete contrast with the gravity of the other contracting parties, and was attended with this advantage, that it did not appear as if he were greatly alarmed for the situation of his army: and it is perhaps owing to his ease and gaiety of manner that he eventually obtained all which he demanded. A degree of misunderstanding had existed for some time between the English and the Austrian commanders. The former reproached the latter with the great length to which the siege



had been protracted. Massena endeavoured to widen and to take advantage of this want of harmony, by flattering the pride of one party at the expence of the self-love of the other. He said to lord Keith, "Do you my lord, only permit a little grain to be carried into Genoa, and I give you my word that these gentlemen (looking at the Austrian generals) shall never set foot there." Toward the end of the conference he again addressed lord Keith, personally: "My lord, if France and England could only understand one another, they would govern the world." In the whole of this conference, lord Keith treated Massena, as the geneneral often acknowledged, in a very polite and handsome manner. His lordship disclaimed all hard conditions. He always said, "General, the defence which you have made has been so heroic, that it is impossible to refuse you any thing which you ask." In the evening Massena signed the treaty for the evacuation of Genoa, and the contracting parties mutually gave hostages. The substance of the treaty was, that the French army, the commander in chief and staff should leave the city with their arms and baggage: and Massena was allowed to send a courier to Bonaparte to announce its surrender.

During the siege of Genoa, Bonaparte had left Paris, and having ordered the army of reserve to march and wait for him at Geneva, he joined it on the 22d Floreal, May eleventh, and on the following day reviewed

the vanguard under Lasnes. He halted three days only, which were employed in preparing for the passage of the Alps, the most astonishing march performed by a large army which is recorded in history.

At Geneva Bonaparte visited Madame Saussure, the widow of the celebrated mineralogist, and at the Prefect's house, where he supped, he remained standing two hours, amusing the company with interesting Egyptian anecdotes.

The army passed by Martinach, proceeded to St. Branchier, and thence ascended to St. Pierre, where the park of artillery was assembled. The great guns were dismounted, placed in hollow trees and dragged by a certain number of soldiers according to their weight: the wheels were born upon men's shoulders fixed to poles; the axle-trees and waggons were placed upon sledges, and the ammunition packed in boxes, was carried by mules. From 600 to 1000 livres were promised to each party of soldiers and peasants who transported a cannon; but the former nobly refused the reward: the baggage was conveyed by the soldiers. The path across the mountain is so narrow that two persons cannot pass at the same time without the danger of being buried in the snow. The troops were so fatigued and exhausted, that they frequently stopped to eat their biscuit, moistened in nothing but snow water. They reached the convent of St. Bernard, on the

summit of the mountain, after a march of five hours, where each man received some refreshment, and a glass of wine prepared for them by the monks, at Bonaparte's expence. Arrived at this spot, they had surmounted but half their difficulties....eighteen miles of a rapid descent were yet to be conquered; immense chasms formed by the melting of the snow, interrupted their progres at every step; the horses were with great care preserved from being precipitated into the abyss below, and a few were lost; the men also were not able in some instances to maintain their standing, and when such an accident occurred, it required all possible exertion to preserve themselves and their horses in the path, and to save themselves from the gulph, the appearance of which was inexpressibly tremendous.

Bonaparte rested an hour in the convent, but his horses and mules had accompanied the army. Some of the foot soldiers had discovered a short path....as he wished to rejoin the army immediately, he followed their track until they found themselves on the brink of a precipice two hundred feet deep, and nearly perpendicular. The consul gave the example of a new military mode of descending into Italy....seating himself on the snow, at the edge of the descent, he glided down, accompanied by his staff and attendants, and in a few minutes landed in safety at the bottom. The army occupied ten hours in performing

the march. On the 27th Floreal, May sixteenth, Lasnes with the advanced guard took possession of Aosta, after a slight skirmish with an Hungarian battalion which was stationed therein, and which immediately evacuated it. They continued their march to Châtillon, where the Austrians were preparing to oppose the French at the passage of a bridge thrown across the precipice; but the attack was so vigorous that they were soon driven from their post, and enclosed themselves in Bard, a fort built on an inaccessible rock, in the shape of a sugar loaf, the pass at its foot defended by the deep and rapid Doria, and on the opposite side a large steep rock. There was no alternative...the fort must be secured, or another passage sought. It was defended by five hundred men and twenty-two pieces of cannon: the suburb was instantaneously filled by French grenadiers, and at night the assault was made; the assailants climbed up the rocks and over the palisades, amidst a shower of balls, but were obliged to retreat. By the rock Albaredo another passage was discovered, but the artillery could not be transported...it was therefore resolved to pass the carriages through the suburb. Notwithstanding litter was spread to destroy the sound, and to remove suspicion, the garrison anticipated the design, and many were killed by each discharge. This induced Bonaparte to raise a cannon upon the top of the church, which so effectual-



ly battered the gate-tower, that the garrison surrendered at discretion. It was on this occasion that Bonaparte was so overcome with fatigue, as to be forced to repose himself upon the ground, where he slept for two hours; the troops filing beside him with as little noise as possible, that he might not be disturbed, expressing only their most unbounded and enthusiastick admiration and devotion to him. Except a flying contest at St. Martin, the army experienced no obstruction until they arrived at Ivrea about 24 miles from Turin; that town was captured with 14 pieces of cannon, by Boudet's division, on the 4th Prairial, May twenty-third, ere the main body had joined them. Bonaparte instead of proceeding to Turin, according to expectation, marched to Romagno, where 6,000 Austrians were intrenched behind the Sesia. General Lasnes attacked them in their position, and after an obstinate engagement, forced them to retreat with great loss. On the 7th, twenty-sixth, two divisions marched towards Turin, the vanguard advancing to Chiussella and the Po. General Turreau, who was detached from Biancon to join the consul, attacked the Austrians at Suza, by which he gained possession of that town, and Brunetto, with 1,500 prisoners, 800 muskets, and a large quantity of provisions and ammunition. Murat with a division of cavalry immediately entered Vercelli, where immense army supplies of all kinds were stored. Lasnes with the

van-guard arrived at Chivasso on the 7th, twenty-sixth, and procured an abundance of rice and corn from the boats which were navigating the Po. Here Bonaparte visited that division, whilst they were enjoying a little repose after their fatigue; expressed his satisfaction with the courage which they had exhibited in the combat at the Sesia, and ordered the chief of brigade to say to the 12th regiment of chasseurs: "That he was very much satisfied with their behaviour; that it was owing to the impetuosity of their charge at Chatillon that the battle was won; that the cavalry would soon be united; and that at the next battle he wished them to charge the enemy's cavalry, to cure them of their pride and vain boasts of being superior to the French in manœuvres and bravery."

He said to the 28th of the line, "As a proof that their good conduct was highly pleasing to him, he would march at the head of the van-guard in the next encounter. For two years past, said he, you have been passing and repassing these mountains, and you are steadfast in your duty without murmuring; this is the first quality of a soldier. I know that eight months pay was due to you a week ago, nevertheless you have not made the least complaint."

The army immediately improved the advantages which it had attained; the French

occupied Santhia, Crescentino, Brila, Trino and Masserano, in the plains of Piedmont ....they were united with 20,000 men, under Moncey, whom general Moreau had detached from the Rhine, and who traversed Mounts Simplon and St. Gothard, to assist the operations of the army of reserve.

Murat having halted a short time at Vercelli, proceeded to Novara, which surrendered with little resistance. On the 10th, May twenty-ninth, he received orders to cross the Tessino ; which he effected in presence of the first consul, after a severe action. The Austrians retired to the village of Turbigo, where general Monnier attacked them with great impetuosity, and carried it at the point of the bayonet.

The night of the 11th, thirtieth, was employed in constructing portable bridges, on which the next day all the divisions of the army passed over, directing their march to Milan. General Murat arrived the same day before the gates of that city, received the keys, and immediately invested the citadel.

A few hours before the blockade of the citadel and the capture of the city, the Austrian commander persuaded the prince De Rohan an emigrant, to depart with his corps for Mantua, as he was in so much danger of being made a prisoner by the French. "Assured of the honour of Bonaparte," replied the prince, "and that of his army, I will abandon myself to fortune."

Three hours afterwards, Bonaparte and the whole of his staff entered Milan, surrounded by an immense crowd of people, continually exclaiming, "*Long live Bonaparte ! Long live the French !*"

The second entry of Bonaparte into Milan, was equally brilliant with his first : and the Austrians being extremely unpopular in that city, he endeavoured by his measures to increase the aversion....all those who had been imprisoned for their attachment to the French were liberated, and the property which had been confiscated, was restored to its owners. A Te Deum was appointed to celebrate their deliverance from the Austrian yoke, and on this occasion Bonaparte remarked to the consuls, " Notwithstanding what the atheists of Paris may say, I shall to-morrow attend the Te Deum to be performed in the metropolitan church of this city." The army rested seven days in Milan....general Duquesne then took possession of Lodi ; the Cisalpine legion seized on Cassano, whilst Lasnes marched to Pavia, which he captured with 500 pieces of cannon and an immense quantity of ammunition, on the 17th Prairial, June fifth, on which day Genoa surrendered to the Austrians, although Ott had received orders to raise the siege immediately. General Melas was so confident of the weakness of the French that he would not believe Bonaparte to be in Italy ; he said, that it was impossible he could have passed the Alps with



an army, when he was not many days before in France, and in an intercepted letter written to his mistress at Pavia, observed, "They say in Lombardy, that a French army has entered Italy ; but do not be afraid, and on no account leave Pavia." This letter was written 12 hours only previous to the entry of the French army.

General Melas left Turin on the 12th Prairial, May thirty-first, to concentrate his troops between the fortresses of Piedmont. He detached a large body to Placenza, another to Chivasso, and a third to the Tessino. In these positions the French army prepared to meet him.

Murat with his cavalry and one division of infantry, hastened to the first bridges of Placenza, whilst Lasnes was ordered to effect the passage of the Po opposite Stradella. The commander of the Cisalpine legion had entered Brescia, and nearly captured general Laudohn, who was indebted for his safety solely to the courage of his escort. In that city was found thirty thousand weight of powder, and a great quantity of military stores. Another division of the army occupied Crema and Orci-Nuovi, and closely invested the fortress of Pizzighitone.

On the 17th Prairial, June fifth, Moncey arrived before Placenza and took possession of the bridge ; but the Austrians defending that passage with heavy artillery, he was obliged to continue his march. With the aid of boats

two brigades passed the river, with which he attacked that city, and took possession of it on the 18th, sixth. He found there considerable magazines, and six hundred prisoners. He then defeated a corps of a thousand men who were marching with all dispatch to garrison the citadel of Placenza. After these two actions he ordered the bridge to be repaired.

The same day Lasnes attained the banks of the Po opposite to Stradella. The portable bridges having been totally destroyed, the general found no remains but a few boats which the enemy could not burn, and with which he effected a passage for a brigade and a half. At three o'clock, two Austrian regiments, covered by some pieces of artillery assailed the troops which were landed, with the greatest impetuosity. The combat was obstinate, but the Austrians were at length defeated, leaving three hundred killed and wounded, and three hundred prisoners.

During these events, Bonaparte issued the following proclamation to the army :

*Milan, 17th Prairial, June fifth, 8th year.*

“ Soldiers ! One of our departments was in the power of the enemy ; and consternation prevailed through the whole south of France.

“ The greatest part of the territory of Liguria, the most faithful friend to the republick, was invaded.

“ The Cisalpine republick, annihilated by the last campaign, was become the sport of the ancient feudal system.

“ You began your march, soldiers !....and already the French

territory is liberated !....Joy and hope, in our country, succeed to consternation and dismay.

“ You gave liberty and independence to the people of Genoa. They will be forever delivered from their enemies.

“ You are now in the capital of the Cisalpine republick.

“ The enemy dismayed aspire only to regain their frontiers, you have captured their stores, their magazines and their reserved artillery.

“ The first act of the campaign is terminated.

“ Millions of men are every day manifesting their gratitude for your services.

“ But, shall the enemy be suffered to violate the French territory with impunity ? Will you permit the army to escape which has spread terror amongst your families ? No, you hastened to arms !....Well then, march to give them battle ; oppose their retreat ; snatch from them the laurels which they have gained ; and thereby inform the world, that the curse of misfortune is sure to fall on those senseless beings, who dare to insult the territory of the great nation.

“ The result of your efforts will be unclouded glory, and solid peace.”

“ BONAPARTE.”

Whilst Lasnes with his division was attempting to pass the Po, the Cisalpine legion entered Lecco ; and Duhesne with his troops occupied Cremona: he found therein considerable magazines, on which Melas depended for the victualling of his army.

Murat intercepted at Placenza several couriers from general Melas, with some important dispatches ; in which he complained of negligence in not furnishing with provisions the fortresses of Piedmont, Lombardy, and particularly Alexandria, the only points from

which his army could draw subsistence, and with having been deceived in the real force of the French army.

The van-guard of the French was attacked near Montebello by a body of 18,000 Austrians on the 20th, eighth, and a most sanguinary contest ensued: the Austrians were greatly superior to the French in numbers and in cavalry; but general Watrin arriving with his division joined Lasnes and speedily decided the day; Montebello belonged to the French, and the Austrians retreated to Voghera, having lost 6,000 prisoners, 12 pieces of cannon and a great number killed and wounded.

Bonaparte was present at the battle of Montebello. He departed from Milan on the morning of the 20th Prairial, ninth, for Pavia, where he staid an hour, then mounted his horse and passed the Po, to rejoin the van-guard already engaged with the Austrians. A few hours after the battle, Dessaix arrived at the head quarters at Brenno. Bonaparte immediately gave him the command of two divisions.

The day after the battle of Montebello, the head-quarters were removed to Voghera. All the army passed through that town to proceed to Tortona, before which they took positions, whilst the van-guard invested the fortress. The Austrian army had also arrived from Genoa, and established their head-quarters at Alexandria.



On the 24th Prairial, twelfth, the army quitted its position before Tortona, and marched towards Alexandria, where general Melas was concentrating his forces.

The Austrians were driven across the Bor-mida by Murat, and general Melas having united his divisions determined to give battle to the French, who hitherto successful were not prepared for that event.

Bonaparte with his horse-guards and one piece of light artillery, hovered about Marengo ; and traversing the plain examined the ground with great attention ; about eleven o'clock in the evening the army reached St. Julian.

On the 25th Prairial, June thirteenth, at day break, some discharges of cannon against the van-guard roused a part of the troops to arms. The French army was formed in two lines, having its wings supported by strong bodies of cavalry, and the Austrians displayed themselves successively in three columns : the French force at Marengo before the battle commenced, consisted of 47,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry, and thirty pieces of cannon ; the Austrians were 45,000 infantry, 15,000 cavalry, and 100 pieces of cannon. Having passed the river on three bridges, the right ascended by the bank, the centre marched to Marengo and the left towards Castel Ceriolo. The action began at eight in the morning ; the discharges of grape-shot were incessant ; the sabre and bayonet were used alternately ;

the firing of small arms increased, and the horse and foot were constantly charging. Bonaparte mounted his charger at 11 o'clock, and hastened to the scene of action. Berthier having brought up the centre and vanguard, who were encouraged by Bonaparte to resist the fury of the Austrians, withstood four different assaults, and stedfastly repelled the attack. The Austrian line extended six miles along the Bormida, which was fordable in many places. The Austrians directed an astonishing fire towards the bridge; but the principal point of action was at St. Stephano's, whence they might gain Voghera before the French, and cut off their retreat. Orders were given to the troops of reserve stationed in the rear, to advance with all speed; but the divisions under Dessaix were still at a great distance. At noon general Melas by one bold attempt determined to secure the victory: with 10,000 infantry, supported by a large body of cavalry and artillery, he attacked the right wing of the French in the plain of St. Julian; the consular guard resisted the shock, but the Austrian horse and artillery having manifested a design to turn that body, they formed a square battalion around their standards and wounded, and having expended all their cartridges, arrived in the rear of the army with as much order as if they had been on the parade. The village of Marengo being carried, the

troops became disordered, and the French line was broken; the left wing under Victor first retreated, and the same measure was adopted by the van-guard under Lasnes.

Bonaparte, informed that the reserve under general Dessaix was not yet ready, instantly appeared before the division of Lasnes to slacken its retreat; but the Austrians continuing to advance, he commanded different movements with the seventy-second brigade, and even wished to charge the enemy in flank, placing himself at the head of the demi-brigade; but a cry was heard from every rank, "*We will not permit the first consul to expose himself.*" The retreat was made in squares, though exposed to the fire of 80 pieces of cannon, which preceded the Austrian battalions, and vomited in the ranks showers of shot and shells. Berthier now informed the consul that the army was in disorder; "General," said he, "you do not announce this news with coolness!" The retreat being sounded in every point, the centre fell back; the Austrians dislodged and turned the wings; to the right they appeared to be very successful, and on the left had an opportunity of cutting them off from their head-quarters, whilst the garrison of Tortona perceiving the discomfiture, made a sortie, so that they were nearly surrounded.

Bonaparte always in the centre, encouraged the remainder of the troops who defended the road, and a defile which they were pass-

ing, inclosed on one side by a wood, and on the other by a very lofty and thick vineyard, the village of Marengo flanking it to the left. Thirty pieces of cannon well served roared through the valley, destroying every thing within their reach. At four o'clock in the afternoon, within a radius of six miles, there remained but six thousand infantry present with their standards, a thousand horses, and six pieces of cannon only fit for service. A third of the army had not been engaged; want of waggons to remove the wounded occasioned above a third to be employed in that service, the riflemen had lost the direction of their corps, and the remainder of the army was employed in defending the defile. At this moment when the field around was strewed with the dead and dying, Bonaparte braved death in the midst of myriads of balls which rooted up the earth under his horses feet, and whilst his soldiers were every instant falling around him, he gave orders with his accustomed coolness. All who perceived him, forgetting the danger which menaced themselves, exclaimed, "*Alas, should he be killed! Why does he not retire?*" The Austrians not being able to force the defile occupied by the greatest part of the French effective force, had drawn up a strong line of artillery, under cover of which they placed the infantry in the vineyards and woods. The cavalry waited in order of battle to watch the moment of disorder, and to destroy the dispersed ranks.



General Melas was so certain of a complete victory, that he dispatched couriers to the different cities of Italy to inform them of his success....at the same time Bonaparte was animating his troops, and assured them, "that he was determined according to his custom to sleep on the field of battle." The obstinacy of the French increased with their difficulties, for in this defile they were resolved to conquer or perish, and being invigorated by the presence and addresses of Bonaparte, who expected the immediate arrival of Dessaix, they repulsed every attempt to force their position. Four times had the retreat been sounded, when the consular guard was stationed in the plain of St. Julianò: against this body, every movement of cavalry, infantry and artillery was directed, but each attack failed, they were united as one man, and sustained every assault with incredible firmness, until they were joined by the other divisions. Dessaix and Monnier's divisions, although they had performed a forced march of 30 miles, and although they had met the army flying and dispersed, did not relax in their ardour, but arrived in order of battle, being flanked on the right by 12 pieces of cannon under Marmont, and on the left by a body of cavalry under Kellerman. Melas, perceiving all the difficulty in the centre, extended his wings to surround the French, and to cut off their retreat; this circumstance hindered him from observing the reinforce-

ment which had been received. Bonaparte immediately availed himself of this error; for as soon as Dessaix's division had reached the front, it was formed into close columns; he placed himself at the head of the troops, passed through the ranks, inspired them with the greatest enthusiasm, and although a whole hour was employed in making preparations for the termination of the combat, and the Austrian artillery maintained an incessant fire, the effect was imperceptible: at length every movement being arranged, Bonaparte ordered the charge to be beaten, upon which the army advanced against the Austrian line, and the defile was conquered in an instant; but the assailants were twice repulsed, and Bonaparte himself dismounted; although in the most dangerous part of the action, he maintained his position, and notwithstanding the repeated vociferations of his troops, urging him to retire, he encouraged them by his presence and example, manifesting the most exalted courage and intrepidity. The generals issued from the defile, and the divisions being arrayed in conjunction with the artillery which was formed in battery, exhibited a formidable front. These measures forced the Austrians to recede, which immediately led the cavalry to the charge; but the grape, small shot and bayonet arrested their progress, whilst Murat with his cavalry and the centre advanced and aided to check them. At this instant Kellerman, with his divisions, after

having routed a body of the Austrian cavalry, surrounded 6,000 Hungarian grenadiers, and obliged them to surrender their arms. These successes broke the first of the Austrian lines, which retired to the second, and both advanced to charge the French with the bayonet, but without effect: Dessaix like a torrent on the left, engulfed all which he saw; every thing submitted to him; hedges, ditches and mounds were passed with unexampled rapidity. Victor captured Marengo, and to cut off the Austrian retreat, pressed on to the Bormida....turning obliquely to San Stephano, Dessaix dis severed the Austrian left wing; at this triumphal moment, after having his horse killed under him, he received a wound from a musket ball, which was the cause of his immediate dissolution. "Cachez ma mort aux soldats," said he to his aides-de-camp; and soon after, as he was expiring, he added to the younger Lebrun who fought beside him: "Allez dire au premier consul, que je meurs avec le regret de ne pas avoir assez fait pour la posterite:" or as others represent the sentence, "Je finis ma carriere, avec le seul regret de n'avoir pas assez fait pour vivre dans la posterite!" "Tell the first consul that I regret only that I have not lived long enough to be known to posterity." Bonaparte was in the heat of the battle, when Le Brun informed him of Dessaix's death; his reply was, "Why is it not permitted me to weep!" The French army enraged at his

loss, concentrated their force, and instantaneously attacked with the utmost fury the Austrian third line, which hitherto remained firm. Lasnes supported by Vertim, Boudet and the consular guard, with Marmont, Murat's cavalry, and Bessiers' horse grenadiers, assailed the line with such irresistible impetuosity that it was broken at once, and this produced the defeat; the cavalry, infantry and artillery fled in the utmost confusion to the Bormida, where the rear guard in protecting the passage of the main body was entirely destroyed. This battle was peculiarly distinguished for the obstinacy of the combatants, and the important events which it produced. The loss of the Austrians amounted to 17,000 men, including 7,000 prisoners, 15 standards and 50 pieces of cannon....the French must have suffered very much, as the armies were engaged many hours within musket shot, and it is probable that their loss could not have been less than half that of the Austrians, although the whole has been computed at 5,000 men.

General Melas proved himself to be an able officer in this battle; he had two horses shot under him, but Bonaparte was his opponent; notwithstanding he still commanded a formidable army, his position was very disagreeable; he was enclosed in a mountainous district between the Bormida and the Tanaro, destitute of provisions, and without any means of procuring supplies....aware that he



was in the situation of a besieged town, he sent a trumpet to Bonaparte with proposals for an armistice, which was granted, and almost the whole of the Italian fortresses delivered to the French.

Bonaparte in the battle of Marengo wore a grey great coat, and although exposed to every kind of death, he and his attendants escaped without injury....when this was observed to him, "They were with me," he replied, "My fortune preserved them." Returning from the field, he met a great number of wounded, "It is impossible not to regret being wounded like them," said he, "that we might better partake of their pain." The Hungarian grenadiers, who were prisoners, recollected Bonaparte in his former Italian campaign, and could not refrain from exclaiming, as he passed by them, "Bonaparte forever!" General Melas towards the latter part of the action, sent to the consul this message, "Stop the effusion of blood, and I will consent to any thing!" Bonaparte's answer is in conformity with every act of his life, with all his addresses and with his character. "The Austrian army shall immediately retire within the line which it should occupy, according to the treaty of Campo Formio." He sent a Turkish sabre which he had brought from Egypt as a present to general Melas, who said to his aide-de-camp when he delivered it, "I am sorry peace is so long delayed; I shall contribute my efforts to obtain it, that I

may see general Bonaparte at Paris. I would see him were he even in Egypt."

One of the French officers who had been a prisoner at the commencement of the battle, said on his return, " Since I have been a soldier I have seen many defeats, but never any similar to that." The confusion and hurry were so great at the Bormida, that in crossing the bridge he was carried 500 paces without setting his feet on the ground.

After the battle of Marengo, Bonaparte dispatched general Kellerman to Massena, ordering him to look carefully to the surrender of Genoa, and prevent the English who were masters of the port, from carrying off any pieces of cannon, and from damaging the city and fortifications. He again visited Pavia, and on the 28th Prairial, June sixteenth, arrived at Milan: he was received in that city amid the acclamations of an immense concourse of people, who regarded him as the liberator of Italy. On the 29th, seventeenth, he attended at the cathedral with Berthier and the staff, where a *Te Deum* was chaunted in honour of the deliverance of Italy and the glory of the French armies. He re-organized the Cisalpine republic; created a consulta, charged with making regulations and forming laws for the different branches of the publick administration; established in Milan a minister extraordinary of the French government to transact business with the Cisal-

pine republick, and formed a provisional government, exercised by an extraordinary commission of nine members, who united all the powers of the republick, except those of judicature and legislation.

Bonaparte on the 7th Messidor, June twenty-fifth, entered Turin, amidst the shouts of "*Long live Bonaparte! long live the First Consul!*" After visiting the citadel he departed, traversed Mount Cenis, and arrived at Lyons on the 9th, twenty-ninth. The news of his arrival soon spread through the town, and immediately the people, merchants and all classes of citizens assembled, filled the quays, bridges and roofs of the houses, exclaiming, "*It is Bonaparte!*" The festivity continued till night, intermingled with military music and volleys of artillery.

The prefect, generals, principal publick functionaries and members of the institute, hastened to welcome him; and on the next day Bonaparte, with a splendid retinue, and 50,000 Lyonese, visited Belle-Cour, to survey it previous to the re-building of the celebrated fronts which had been demolished after the siege. During the night of his stay they had contrived to strike a medal in brass: it was presented to him the instant before he laid the first stone of the building: he then deposited the medal in a leaden box under the foundations of the new edifice.

The medal on one side represented the ef-

figy of Bonaparte, with the following inscription:

TO BONAPARTE,  
RE-EDIFIER OF LYONS,

VERNIAC, PREFECT,

*In the name of the grateful people of Lyons.*

On the other side a wreath of oak, in the middle of which was written:

THE VICTOR AT MARENGO,

TWICE

CONQUEROR OF ITALY,

LAIID THIS STONE,

*On the 10th Messidor, in the eighth year of the Republick, and first of his Consulate.*

On the 13th Messidor, July third, at half past two in the morning, Bonaparte entered Paris. On the preceding evening the two consuls had invited the council of state, the two prefects, the ministers, generals, officers of the staff and mayors, to repair to the Thuilleries in full uniform by 9 o'clock the next morning, and to go in a body as far as Villejuif, to present their respects to the first consul....Bonaparte was aware of this reception, and eluded it, for at the moment his carriage entered the Thuilleries, the two consuls and the citizens were asleep. When they visited him in the morning, his first words were, "Citizens, here we are again! Have you done a great deal of business since I left you?" The answer was, "Not so much as you general." He talked for an hour of his campaign, of the conduct of the French and Aus,



trian troops, of the dispositions of Italy with regard to France, and of circumstances which gave reason to hope for peace. The day after his return, general Cafarelli presented him with a sealed box, which five ladies whose names were unknown, charged him to remit to the first consul. On opening it he found a crown of laurel, interwoven with immortals, and the following verses :....

Dieu des combats, sois-lui toujours fidele !  
Dieu de la paix, couronne ce guerrier !  
A son genie appartient l'immortelle,  
A sa valeur appartient le laurier.

On the following day he received the congratulatory addresses of the constituted authorities, of the national institute, and the several administrations, and distributed rewards and honours among the soldiers who had signalized themselves in Italy. General Davigneau, who, with a part of his division, had remained inactive at the battle of Marengo, was broken. The consuls then issued a decree against general Foissac-Latour, who had surrendered the city of Mantua to the Austrians.

*The Consuls of the Republick to the Minister at war.*

“The consuls are informed, citizen minister, that citizen Foissack-Latour returned from Austria, dishonours by wearing it, the dress of a French soldier. Let him be told, that he was no longer in the service of the republick from the day on which he so basely surrendered Mantua ; and expressly forbid his wearing any kind of uniform. His conduct at Mantua is rather to be judged by opinion than by the tribu-

nals ; besides, government wish to hear nothing more of that shameful siege, which will long leave a blemish on our arms. Citizen Foissack-Latour will find in public contempt the greatest punishment that can be inflicted on a Frenchman."

Plays and other amusements in celebration of this great victory were given in all the theatres of Paris, and every house was illuminated five nights in succession. The exultation was general, and all were in great hopes for the future. The splendored victories which were obtained by Moreau in Germany, increased the hopes of a general peace. On the 14th of July, the anniversary of the revolution, all seemed enraptured with their victory and victorious leader. The revolution and its object were entirely forgotten. Grand processions, entertainments, prize-fighting, running matches, &c. attracted the attention of the Parisian multitude. Bonaparte and his whole family were among the spectators. The first stone of a national monument in remembrance of the most important occurrences during the revolution, was laid on this day, as was likewise that of a monument in memory of General Dessaix.

Bonaparte, indefatigable in the cabinet as in the midst of his armies, ratified a treaty of peace with the United States of America. At a brilliant entertainment given at Morfontaine by Joseph Bonaparte, president of the commission of ministers employed to negotiate with the envoys of the Unit-

ed States, the peace between the countries was magnificently celebrated.

The first consul joined them at three o'clock, when the minister for foreign affairs presented him with the convention signed on the 9th of Vendemiaire, September thirtieth, between the French and American ministers. After dinner....Bonaparte gave as his toast, "To the manes of the French and Americans who were killed on the field of battle for the independence of the new world." On the next day the American ministers took leave of the first consul, and told him, "they hoped that the convention signed on the ninth, would be the basis of a lasting friendship between France and America, and that they would themselves leave nothing undone to accomplish that end." Bonaparte replied: "the disputes which have taken place between us being now terminated, we should consider them but family quarrels, and forgive them accordingly. The liberal principles consecrated in the convention, on the subject of navigation, ought to be the foundation of the friendship of the two nations, as well as of their interest. Under the present circumstances, it becomes more necessary than ever that the two nations should adhere to it." During their stay at Morfontaine, on the same day, the prefect of the department of the Oise presented Bonaparte with several golden medals recently found by some peasants within his jurisdiction. They were inclosed, with many others, in a small

earthen vessel; the whole being worth about 600,000 livres. They were in a very perfect state, and of several different dates; some as far back as the Roman republick and others of the time of the emperors. The prefect informed the first consul, that it had been very difficult to obtain the pieces, as those who found them were afraid of being put to some trouble on account of the discovery. "According to the ancient laws," continued he, "any treasures found belong to government."....At present," replied Bonaparte, "government do not wish to dispute with the good fortune of a citizen; besides we must be careful that these medals, which may be invaluable monuments to the historian, be not melted down; buy as many of them therefore as you can....Perhaps," added he, after a moments reflection, "these are only a part, and you may easily procure more." The first consul then approached one of the American ministers, and said to him, "Here are some Roman medals which have been just found in France; do me the favour to take them to America."

On the 18th Vendemiaire, October ninth, some persons formed a plot to assassinate the first consul. They had chosen the opera, as the place to execute their scheme; but were discovered by the minister of police, who arrested them in the same place where they intended to have committed the murder. They had met and fixed both the day



and the hour. The minister, informed of these particulars, invited the consul, to receive his orders on the subject....“ These are not my affairs,” replied he, “ they are yours” ....“ Will you go to the Opera ?” ....“ Undoubtedly.”

After the armistice concluded with the emperor, general Moreau arrived at Paris on the 26th Vendemiaire, October seventeenth; he immediately visited the first consul at the council of state. Before he left the saloon the minister of the interior introduced a superb brace of pistols of exquisite workmanship, and enriched with diamonds. The directory had ordered them as a present to one of the foreign princes, and they had since remained at the house of the minister of the interior. “ They come very a-propos,” said the first consul, presenting them to general Moreau; then turning towards the minister of the interior....“ Citizen minister,” said he, “ let some of the battles which general Moreau has gained, be engraved on them ; but not all....they would occasion too many diamonds to be taken away ; the general indeed attaches no great value to these, but the design of the artist must not be wholly deranged.”

The first consul escaped death in December by a very remarkable preservation. A number of dissatisfied characters had concerted a scheme by which they intended to destroy him on his way to the national insti-

tute of musick. The machine which they had manufactured for this purpose, has been usually known by the appellation of *infernal*. Fouche, at the head of the police, was acquainted with this conspiracy from its first conception, and by his vigilant agents was informed of the daily progress made in the construction of this destructive instrument, of the plan of which he had even a copy. The conspirators proceeded with perfect confidence and security. Three days before it was completed and ready for its purpose, from some surprise or dread of detection they changed their place of meeting, and in one night removed the machine from the spot in which it had been usually deposited. The penetrating eye of the police lost sight of them. Fouche and his followers pursued and attempted to discover it in vain: he then waited upon Bonaparte, to whom he had regularly imparted the result of every day's information respecting it, and told him that he could no longer trace the traiterous instrument of his assassination, and requested him as he was convinced it must be completed by this time, not to go to any publick places, until he had regained a knowledge of it. Bonaparte replied, that fear only made cowards and conspirators brave, and that he had unalterably determined to go with his accustomed equipage to the national concert that very evening. At the usual hour the first consul departed undismay-

ed from the Thuilliers ; a description of the machine, which was made to resemble a water cask, having been first given to the coachman, servants and guards. As they proceeded, the advanced guard passed it unobserved, but the coachman discovered it just as the consul's carriage was on a parallel with it ; the driver instantly lashed his horses into a gallop and turned the corner of the Rue Marcem. In one moment after the terrible machine exploded, and covered the street with ruins. The thunder of its discharge shook the houses of Paris and was heard at a considerable distance in the country. The first consul arrived in safety at the hall of musick, and with every appearance of profound serenity entered his box amidst the acclamations of the crowded multitude.

The treaty of peace which was concluded at Luneville on the ninth of February 1801 between France and Austria produced tranquillity on the continent. Bonaparte's answer to the proposal of peace made by the Emperor, was thus couched : " The left bank of the  
" Rhine shall be the boundary of the French  
" republick : she makes no pretensions to the  
" right bank : the interest of Europe does not  
" permit the emperor to pass the Adige : the in-  
" dependence of the Helvetick and the Batavi-  
" an republicks shall be insured and guaran-  
" teed. Our victories add nothing to the pre-  
" tensions of the French people. Austria  
" ought not to expect from her defeats what

“ she would not have obtained by her victories.  
 “ Such are the invariable principles of the go-  
 “ vernment: it is for the welfare of France  
 “ to restore tranquillity to Germany and Italy;  
 “ her glory to deliver the continent from the  
 “ avaricious and destructive genius of En-  
 “ gland.”

After the ratification of the treaty of Luneville, Bonaparte addressed the nation:....

“ The continental peace has been signed at Luneville. It is such as the French people desired. Their first wish was the boundary of the Rhine. Reverses never shook their resolution: victory never added to their pretensions.

“ After having re-established the ancient limits of Gaul, they had to give freedom to the people who were united to them by one common origin, as well as by a community of interests and of manners.

“ The liberty of the Cisalpines and of Liguria is secured.

“ After this duty, there was another which justice and generosity imposed.

“ The King of Spain had been faithful to our cause and suffered for it. Neither our reverses, nor the perfidious insinuations of our enemies could detach him from our interests: he shall have a just recompence—a prince of his blood is to sit on the throne of Tuscany.

“ He will remember what he owes to the fidelity of Spain and to the friendship of France: his roadsteads and his ports will be shut against our enemies, and will become the asylum of our commerce and our ships.

“ Austria, and it is this which is the pledge of peace, Austria henceforth separated from the republic by vast regions, will no longer feel that rivalry, those heart-burnings which for so many ages have occasioned the torment of these two powers, and the calamities of Europe.



“ By this treaty every thing is settled with respect to France; it will no longer have to struggle against the forms and the intrigues of a congress.

“ The government owes the expression of its satisfaction to the minister plenipotentiary who has conducted the negociation to this happy termination. There remain neither interpretations to be feared nor explanations to be demanded, nor those equivocal arrangements in which the diplomattick art deposits the seeds of a new war.

“ Wherefore was not this treaty the treaty of a general peace? This was the wish of France! This was the constant object of the efforts of the government!

“ But its efforts were vain. All Europe knows that the British minister has endeavoured to frustrate the negociations at Luneville.

“ In vain did an agent authorised by the government declare to him on the 9th of October 1800, that France was ready to enter into a separate negociation. This declaration produced a refusal only, under the pretext that England could not abandon her ally. Since then, when this ally consents to treat without England, that government seeks other means to delay a peace so necessary to the world.

“ It violates conventions which humanity had consecrated, and declares war against miserable fishermen.

“ It raises pretensions contrary to the dignity and the rights of all nations. The whole commerce of Asia, and of immense colonies, does not satisfy its ambition. All the seas must submit to the exclusive sovereignty of England. It arms against Russia, Denmark, and Sweden; because Russia, Denmark, and Sweden have secured, by treaties of guaranty, their sovereignty and the independence of their flags.

“ The powers of the North unjustly attacked, have a right to reckon upon France. The French government will avenge with them a common injury to all nations; without ever losing

sight however, that it ought to fight only for peace and for the good of the world."

The following anecdotes of general Moreau and the Arch-duke Charles are so characteristick and honourable to them, that they merit preservation. When the Arch-duke was travelling from Bohemia to take the command of the army in Germany; as he approached the scene of action he perceived numbers of wounded and dying, abandoned by their companions for want of horses to draw the carriages in their retreat. He immediately ordered the horses to be unyoked from several pieces of cannon, saying, "That the relief of the men was an object far nearer his heart than the preservation of cannon." When general Moreau heard of this benevolence, he ordered the cannon which had been captured by him to be restored to the Austrians, remarking, "That he would retain no cannon which had been abandoned from such humane motives."

At Passau there was a repository of clothes and provisions destined for the poor of that city. This magazine on the retreat of the Austrians to the Trafen, was possessed by the French: the Arch-duke immediately wrote to Moreau, to acquaint him with its destination, and intreated him to spare it: the clothes and the provisions were distributed among the poor, and Moreau returned for answer, "That he would never appropriate to

his own use that which had been intended for the relief of indigence."

During the summer of 1801, the army surrendered Egypt and returned to France; at the same time that this event was known, and after a negotiation which had been continued nearly nine months, and conducted with profound and admirable secrecy, preliminaries of peace between the English and French governments were concluded in London on the 1st of October, and immediately after ratified by the contracting parties. The manifestations of joy in both countries were unbounded and in many instances amounted almost to frenzy : the definitive treaty of peace was signed on the 27th of March 1802 at Amiens, by Joseph Bonaparte and Marquis Cornwallis.

A civil code was one of the greatest wants of France ; Bonaparte therefore in order to provide for these pressing necessities of the people, charged the minister of justice immediately to appoint a committee to enquire into the nature of the different existing civil codes, to decide upon that which it would be most proper to adopt, and to discuss the principal bases of legislation in civil affairs. The minister named Portalis, Tronchet, Bigot, Preameneau, and Maleville, who some time after, published the project of a civil code, prefaced by a long and able introduction, explaining the principles on which they had proceeded, derived from the established laws and customs of society, and

applicable to the present times. The result of their studies was also officially communicated to the tribunal of cassation and to the tribunals of appeal, who returned it to the minister of justice with their remarks, which were also published. After this project had been the subject of publick and private discussion for six months, it was revised and drawn up afresh in the council of state, by the section of legislation, and then presented to the legislative body, and by them to the tribunate. The chief consul had himself attended to the particulars of this code during the whole time which it had been before the council of state ; several of its articles passed peaceably through the assemblies, though not entirely without opposition, yet none of them were rejected.

The concordatum between Bonaparte and the Pope was signed on the twenty-sixth of July 1801 and ratified on September tenth, but it was not adopted until April 1802. By this agreement the management of the Gallican church was delivered to the consul alone. When objections were made to the measure, he said, " Make you no account then of a clergy who will pray every day for the safety of the republick, and of bishops who will be obliged by their oath, to reveal all plots against it !"

Bonaparte during the sitting of the congress at Amiens visited Lyons to meet the Cisalpine deputies who had been commissioned to



offer him the sovereignty of that republick. He left Paris on the ninth of June, and reached Lyons on the 11th. He was accompanied on his journey by madame Bonaparte, Chaptal the minister of the interior, and many other personages of the first distinction in France. Upon his approach to Lyons, he was met and escorted by a brilliant troop of 150 volunteers, all natives of that town, young men of fortune and fine appearance. Thus accompanied, he entered the city about ten o'clock in the evening amidst the loudest acclamations and the most rapturous expressions of universal joy.

On the grand staircase of the palace, appointed for his residence, the following most flattering inscription met his eyes :

11th January, an. 10,

BONAPARTE,

VANQUISHER AND PACIFICATOR,

*Arrived in this city and lodged in this palace ;*

FIVE HUNDRED CISALPINE DEPUTIES ATTENDED HIM,

To fix under his auspices,

*The laws and destinies of their country.*

AT HIS VIEW THE ARTS AWOKE IN THIS CITY,

COMMERCE RESUMES ITS ANCIENT SPLENDOUR,

And the grateful Lyonese forming for him,

*The same wish that their ancestors did for Antonine,*

Have said,

*" May his happiness be equal to his glory."*

The first consul employed his time for the ensuing fortnight in visiting the different manufactories and establishments of Lyons and in conferring with the principal Cisalpine de-

puties. The people of Lyons, who had suffered, perhaps, more by the revolution and the war than any other city in France, were charmed with the attention of the first consul to their commercial interests, and his promises of protection and encouragement. At the hall, where the consulta met, a splendid chair was prepared for Bonaparte, adorned with military trophies; the room was decorated with various ornaments emblematick of his victories, and inscribed with mottos applicable to him and his fortune. The meetings of the consulta were private, and they at length appointed a committee of thirty to prepare a report of the actual state of the Cisalpine nation, and the means necessary for its future prosperity and happiness. This committee accordingly presented a report, declaring it absolutely necessary that Bonaparte himself should undertake the sole and exclusive management of their affairs.

The report of the committee was entered in the proces verbal of the consulta, and unanimously agreed to by the Cisalpine deputies. A special committee was appointed to wait on Bonaparte with the report, which invited him, not in his capacity of first consul of France, but personally as general Bonaparte to accept of the government of their country.

On the 26th of January, the first consul, accompanied by the minister for foreign affairs, and the minister of the interior, four counsel-

lors of state, twenty prefects of departments, and a vast train of general officers, took his seat at the Cisalpine consulta, and pronounced in his native language Italian, a speech to the following effect :

“ That the Cisalpine republic, acknowledged since the treaty of Campo Formio, has already experienced many vicissitudes.

“ The first efforts made to constitute it have not succeeded.

“ Invaded since by hostile armies, its existence seemed no longer probable, when the French people, a second time drove by force of arms, your enemies from your territories. Since that time every means have been tried to divide you...The protection of France has prevailed, you have been recognized at Luneville.

“ Increased one fifth, you exist more powerful, more consolidated, and with better hopes !

“ Composed of six different nations, you are now going to be united under a constitution more adapted to your manners and to your circumstances.

“ I have assembled you around me at Lyons, as being the principal inhabitants of the Cisalpine. You have given me the necessary information to fulfill the august task which my duty imposed upon me, as the first magistrate of the French people, and as the man who has most contributed to your creation.

“ The choice which I have made to fill the first magisterial offices in your country are completely independent of all idea of party, of all spirit of locality.

“ As to that of president, *I have not found any body among you*, who would have sufficient claim to the public opinion, who would be sufficiently independent of the spirit of locality, and who in fine had rendered great services enough to his country to intrust it to him.

“ The proces verbal which you have caused to be transmitted

to me by your committee of thirty, in which are analyzed with equal precision and truth, the internal and external circumstances of your country, have made a lively impression upon me. I adhere to your wish. I shall still preserve, as long as circumstances may require it, the great care of your affairs.

“ Amid the continual cares which the post that I occupy require, every thing which may relate to you and consolidate your existence and your prosperity, shall not be foreign from the dearest affections of my heart.

“ You have had as yet only particular laws ; in future you must have general laws.

“ Your people have only local habits ; they must assume national habits.

“ Finally, you have no army ; the powers who might become your enemies have strong armies : but you have that which can produce them, a numerous population, fertile countries, and the example which has been given in all the essential circumstances by the first nation in Europe.”

On the 17th of April, the proclamation with respect to the concordatum was issued and the solemn celebration of that event fixed for the next day in the church of Notre Dame.

Previously however, to the publication of this new religious code, the cardinal Caprara the Pope's legate had a formal audience of the first consul : the government carriages were sent to his eminence, who went in state to the Thuilleries ; he was preceded by a detachment of grenadiers, and of *gens d'armes*, with trumpets, &c. There were in his train ten carriages full of ecclesiasticks, and the procession was closed by a body of 200 cavalry. The legate and suite descended at the



principal entrance of the palace : the cross was as usual carried before the legate, and during the ceremony was placed at the door of the council chamber. At this council, the ministers and members of the council of state attended. The cardinal delivered a flattering address to the consul, in which he complimented him both on account of his victories and his zeal for religion ; among the many remarkable expressions which it contained was the following :

“The same hand which gained battles and which signed peace with all nations, restores splendour to the temples of the true God, re-edifies his altars, and re-establishes his worship.”

After the conclusion of his speech, the cardinal signed the *formula* of an oath in the Latin language, by which he engaged to observe the constitution, laws, statutes and customs of the republick.

To this address the first consul made the following answer :

“On account of the apostolick virtues by which you are distinguished, cardinal, I behold you with great satisfaction, the possessor of an extensive influence on the conscience of man.

“You draw from the gospels the rules of your conduct, and consequently you will contribute much to the extinction of animosity, and the establishment of union in this vast empire. The French nation will long have reason to rejoice at the happy choice that I and his holiness have jointly made of you. The result of your mission will be for the Christian religion which in all ages has produced so much good among mankind, a fresh subject for exultation. The enlightened philosopher and the

true friend to man, will express his satisfaction at this appointment."

The magnificence of the *fete* which established and proclaimed the catholic religion in France, was far greater and more brilliant than had attended any solemnity since the revolution. The restoration of the national religion was not only effected with the utmost splendour on the part of the government, but was received by the people at large with universal and sincere pleasure. The ceremony was performed with great pomp. The anthems and the appropriate musick were the work of the first composers in France, and the execution was by no means inferior: every lustre that consuls and cardinals, bishops, arch-bishops and the Pope's legate could give to the re-establishment of the Roman catholick religion in France was most profusely lavished on this occasion.

Immediately after this event Bonaparte was desirous that the colours of his regiment should be consecrated by the cardinal, and expressed his wishes to the troops; in the course of a few days, a deputation waited upon him, with this reply...." Our banners have already been consecrated by the blood of our enemies at Marengo, the benediction of a priest cannot render them more sacred in our eyes, nor more animating in the time of battle:" the consul was obliged to submit.

About this time Bonaparte gave a grand dinner to the metropolitan Arch-bishop and

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to several of his brethren. After the entertainment Bonaparte addressed the Arch-bishop observing that as he had given directions for the repairing of the archi-episcopal palace, he should very much like to take a ride in the Arch-bishop's carriage, to see the progress which the workmen had made. The prelate bowed to the first consul, and informed him that he had no carriage, otherwise he should be much flattered by conducting him thither. Bonaparte good humouredly said "How can that be? Your coach has been waiting at the gate this half hour," and immediately led the venerable Arch-bishop down the steps of the Thuilleries, where he found a plain handsome carriage, with a valuable pair of horses, and a coachman and footmen, dressed in the livery which Bonaparte had just before informed him would be allotted to him when his establishment was completed. The whole was a present from the private purse of the first consul. Upon their arrival at the palace, the Arch-bishop was agreeably surprised, to find that the most minute and liberal attention had been paid to his comfort and accommodation.

The tribunate now began to agitate the question, "What mark of national gratitude is due to the hero who has done so much for France?" It was at first proposed to elect him consul for five years....this was afterwards exchanged to ten years....when this election

was notified to him by the conservative senate, he thus addressed them :

“ The honourable testimony of your esteem, expressed in your late deliberations, shall be forever engraven on my heart. The suffrages of the people have invested me with the supreme magistracy. I should not look upon myself as assured of the national confidence, if the act that was to continue me in that high office were not again sanctioned by the same suffrage. During the three years which have just elapsed, fortune has smiled propitiously on the republic : but fortune is inconstant ; and how many are those on whom she has lavished her favours, that have lived a few years too long ! The interest I feel for my glory and my happiness would seem to have marked the term of my publick life at the moment that the peace of the world was proclaimed. But every attention to the glory and the happiness of a citizen should cease to operate when the interests of the state or the publick kindness call upon him. You think that I owe a new sacrifice to the people ; that sacrifice I will make, if the wish of the people command what is authorised by your vote.”

Two days after, the consuls offered a question upon which the people were to be consulted : “ Shall Napoleon Bonaparte be declared consul for life ? ” Which was decided in the affirmative and to this honour was added the privilege of appointing his successor. During this election the following incident occurred. Upon the first appearance of the election book of the first consul in one of the departments, some wag instead of subscribing his name, immediately under the title of the page, “ Shall Napoleon Bonaparte



be first consul for life?" Wrote the following words, "I cannot tell."

Barthelemy the president of the senate, attended by that body, waited upon the consul at the Thuilleries when he was holding a levee at which all the foreign ambassadors were present; after a long address he declared Bonaparte's appointment to the consulship for life: Bonaparte replied; "To the life of  
" a citizen, his country has a just claim.  
" The French people demand, that I shall  
" devote myself to their service; I obey  
" their will. In giving me now this pledge of  
" their confidence, they impose upon me the  
" sacred duty to establish the system of their  
" laws on principles of wisdom, liberty,  
" and equality, so that the welfare of France  
" may be secured against all vicissitudes."

Since the peace with England in 1802, the French government has maintained an unsuccessful war against the blacks in St. Domingo, and notwithstanding great efforts have been made to reduce the island to obedience, they have been ineffectual....the blacks still possess the principal part of the colony, and little probability remains that it will again submit to a foreign yoke.

The affairs of Switzerland at the conclusion of the war, very deeply interested all Europe. The adherents to the old form of government were opposed by a strong party who had imbibed the notion of uniting the whole nation under one government, thereby

destroying that federal principle upon which they had so long been associated. A general diet assembled at Berne in September 1801, to deliberate upon the state of the cantons and to form a new government, the former constitution having been destroyed amidst the agitations which convulsed all Europe. The democrattick cantons were decidedly against the doctrine of indivisibility, but it at length prevailed through a scheme which the French party conceived, and by which having entirely dispossessed their opponents from all part in their proceedings, they proclaimed a constitution which was exactly suited to the views of the minister Verniac who resided at Berne.

General Turreau soon after was stationed in the Valais which was during the summer separated from its alliance with the Swiss cantons. Aloys Reding, president of the provisional government which had been appointed until the diet should conclude its sittings and the government acting under the authority of the constitution commence its operations, had visited Paris, and the Consul had assured him, "that the democrattick cantons should enjoy their ancient laws" which animated them in their opposition to this new form of government; hence three of the cantons Schweitz, Uri and Underwalden determined to separate from the Helvetic republick, and form a new confederacy; they ac-

cordingly addressed the French minister, dated Schweitz, July 13th, 1802.

"We have ineffectually endeavoured, for four successive years, to tear from us a constitution, which from its origin, and still more from the violence with which it was established, could not fail to be odious and insupportable. It is in vain that we have constantly hoped that the Helvetic government instructed by the sorrowful events of four unfortunate years, would at length find that our separation from the republick was that which was most wise and suitable for both parties, and that the wish which we have so often and so strongly expressed for our ancient liberty, would have induced them to set aside all hope that those three cantons would ever voluntarily accept any other constitution than that which has ever been considered as the only one suited to these states, and for reasons so highly prized by ourselves and our ancestors. Our re-union with Helvetia, which has been stained with so much innocent blood, is perhaps the most cruel example of constraint which history can offer.

"In the conviction therefore that for a forced and unfortunate marriage, divorce is the only reasonable remedy, and that Helvetia and ourselves cannot recover repose and content, except by the dissolution of this forced tie, we are firmly resolved to labour at that separation with all possible activity; and we think it best to address that authority, which, for four years past has united us in spite of ourselves, to the Helvetic republick. As to any thing further, we only wish to preserve good harmony in our commercial relations, as becomes brave Swiss. In listening to our just demands, the Helvetic republick will acquire in us brothers and faithful neighbours."

The French troops having evacuated Switzerland, the parties recurred to violence, and the confederates were completely successful.

In September the members of the old government assembled at Berne and resumed their functions...at this crisis Bonaparte addressed them in that remarkable composition into which is infused every trait of his character :....

*BONAPARTE, First Consul of the French Republick, President of the Italian Republick, to the Eighteen Cantons of the Helvetic Republick.*

St. Cloud, Sept. 30, 1802.

INHABITANTS OF HELVETIA,

YOU have afforded for two years, an afflicting spectacle. Opposite factions have successively taken possession of the sovereign authority; they have signalized their temporary rule by a system of partiality which proved their unskillfulness and weakness. In the course of the year 10 your government desired that the small number of French troops in Helvetia should be withdrawn. The French government willingly availed themselves of that opportunity to honour your independence; but soon afterwards your different parties began to be agitated by fresh fury; the blood of the Swiss was shed by the hands of Swiss. You have been disputing for three years without coming to any understanding; if you are left longer to yourselves, you will be killing each other for three years, without coming to a better understanding. Your history proves besides, your intestine wars could never be terminated but by the efficacious intervention of France. It is true that I had determined not to interfere at all in your affairs; I had constantly seen your different governments ask advice of me, and not follow it, and sometimes abuse my name, according to their interests and their passions; but I neither can nor ought to remain insensible to the misery of which you are the victims. I recall my determination....*I will* be the mediator of your differences, but my mediation *shall* be efficacious, such as befits the great peo-



ple in whose name I speak. Five days after the notification of the present proclamation, the senate *shall* assemble. Every magistracy that shall have been formed at Bern since the capitulation *shall* be dissolved and *shall* cease meeting, exercising any authority. The prefects *shall* repair to their posts. All the authorities which may have been formed since shall cease meeting. Armed assemblies *shall* disperse. The 1st and 2d Helvetic demibrigades *shall* compose the garrison of Bern. The troops who have been on service for upwards of six months, *shall* alone remain in corps of troops. All individuals disbanded from the belligerent armies, who are now in arms, *shall* deposit their arms at the municipality of the commune where they were born. The senate *shall* send three deputies to Paris; each canton may also send deputies. All citizens who, for the last three years, have been landammens, senators, and have successively occupied places in the central authority, may repair to Paris, to make known the means of restoring union and tranquillity, and conciliating all parties. On my part, I have a right to expect that no city, no commune, no corps, will do any thing contrary to the dispositions which I make known to you. Inhabitants of Helvetia, awake to hope !!! Your country is on the brink of a precipice; it shall be immediately drawn from it; all men of good intentions will second this generous plan. But if, which I cannot believe, there be among you a great number of individuals who should have so little virtue as not to sacrifice their passions and their prejudices to the love of their country, people of Helvetia, you will have indeed degenerated from your forefathers! There is no sensible man who does not see that the mediation which I take upon myself is a benefit to Helvetia, from that providence which, in the midst of so many shocks, has always watched over the existence and independence of your nation, and that this mediation is the only means of saving both. For indeed it is time you should see, that if the

patriotism and union of your ancestors founded your republick, the bad spirit of your factions, if it continue, will infallibly destroy it ; painful would it be to think, that at a period when several new republicks have arisen, destiny had marked out the termination and fall of one of the most ancient.

BONAPARTE.

ANSWER

*Of the Diet of Schweitz to the Proclamation of Bonaparte.*

CITIZEN FIRST CONSUL,

THE proclamation which you did us the honour to send to us on the 30th of September, by citizen Rapp your adjutant-general, arrived at Schweitz on the 6th of October. We could have wished that the letter we took the liberty of sending you, general first consul on the 30th of September, could have reached you sooner ; it contains a faithful exposition of the present state of Switzerland. Permit us to send you inclosed a duplicate of it, and to entreat you to receive it favourably. It will prove to you that the movements which have taken place in Switzerland are not the result of a spirit of party, and that the Swiss nation has no other object in view than to make use of the right which she claims of giving herself a central and cantonal constitution, founded on her position and her wants.... a sacred and precious right, which you deigned yourself to insure her by the treaty of Luneville. Switzerland would long since have been tranquil if the members of the Helvetic government, those obscure metaphysicians, had consulted the real state of affairs, instead of obstinately attaching themselves to theoretick attempts, as erroneous as they are expensive. The violence with which they have tried to impose their system upon the democrattick cantons, then against all Switzerland.... the unexampled severity with which they have done it, has produced a discontent equally general and just, and a determined and avowed will to shake off this insupportable yoke. It is not then, general first consul, an affair of party, it is the

sacred cause of humanity, it is the general wish of the whole nation, which has given us our power and our instructions, of a nation which you yourself wished to be free, and which has been ill-treated and irritated, contrary to your intentions. Yet that nation, we render ourselves guarantees, will never abuse the liberty which it claims. The Swiss have nothing more at heart than to attain a state of repose, in which, under the shield of a mild and just government, each inhabitant may enjoy his property and existence. We are convinced that we shall arrive at that essential object of all social order, from the moment that our will and our efforts shall be no longer fettered. General first consul, all Europe admires in you the supreme head of an immense power and empire, which without doubt, according to your own views, will be directed to the good of humanity ; your magnanimity assures us, that you will not make use of it against a people who desire only what you have made them hope, and who wish only what they believe themselves authorized to do by yourself. Penetrated with eternal gratitude, the Swiss nation will do its endeavour to deserve the good will of the French government, and will fulfill all the duties which are imposed upon it by the desire of cultivating good neighbourhood.

“ It is with the most distinguished respect that we remain,  
general first consul,

*The deputies of the Helvetic Diet.*

“ Schweitz, October 8, 1802.

The following was immediately issued:....

#### PROCLAMATION

*Of the Council of War of the Swiss League to their Brothers in Arms.*

“ Basle, October 12, 1802.

“ *Friends and Brothers,*

“ When you separated yourselves from your wives, your children, your fathers, and your friends, to conquer for your

children, liberty, independence and prosperity, you abandoned with alacrity and courage your cottages and your flocks. This idea, "the God of our fathers is with us, and protects us," gave you force to brave all the dangers and to despise the fatigues of war. You quitted with songs your mountains and your valleys to enter into the field and defend the cause of liberty and your country. The Almighty blessed your arms, and heard the just wishes of a nation known only by its rectitude, and which had armed for its liberty and independence. Our enemies, our oppressors, the *soi-disant* Helvetick government with its feeble party have been chased almost to the frontiers of the confederate cantons. But brothers and friends, we have received a notification that if we did not by our conduct give proofs of an entire confidence in the first consul of the powerful nation of France, who has caused a declaration to be made by his envoy general Rapp to our fathers assembled at Schweitz, that he wishes to interpose as mediator in the war which we are carrying on against the odious Helvetick government, we should be compelled to it by the victorious arms of the French warriors. Brothers, friends, confederates, who among us could conceive the thought of menacing ourselves with the numerous and experienced armies of France? No, friends, no; we wish to await peaceably the determination of the first consul; and with that order, that moderation, and that discipline, which have hitherto guided your steps, you will receive, we are convinced, the orders of your superiors, of your general; and even, if it should be necessary, you will return to your residences, in order that our country may not be exhausted by the entrance of foreign troops; that we may not be deprived of the scanty harvest of this year, which we hoped to consume with our children; and that we may not be plunged into indigence and misery. It is only the Helvetick government, directed by its passions and its private interest, that could call in the aid of foreign troops; we, who



took up arms only for our country and tranquillity, have no need of troops to attain our object. But, relying on our conduct, we dare to hope, that the first consul of France, who has guaranteed our independence, and who has been deceived by false reports, will as soon as he shall have been informed of the true state of things take measures, which will secure our honour, and the prosperity and independence of our country. May the Almighty deign to grant this, who has caused us to make an important step towards our future happiness, and crowned our arms with benediction."

The French troops having entered Switzerland, the league was dissolved, and the new government reinstated in office....the cantons and principal towns were required to send delegates to Paris to form a new constitution, which was arranged under the immediate inspection of the consul.

The peace between Great-Britain and France was not destined to be of long duration....the rancour which was displayed in the publick prints of both countries, and the non-fulfillment of the conditions of that treaty by the English ministry, manifested that a rupture was not very distant. The decision and firmness of Bonaparte during the discussion in which the two governments were involved previous to the commencement of the présent war, were a great contrast to the wavering indeterminate spirit which filled the British councils. The contest commenced in May 1803, and it cannot be disputed that Bonaparte is indebted for his present preponderance to the regret which the

British government felt, that they should have acceded to the treaty of Amiens. The threat of invasion which Bonaparte had personally delivered to lord Whitworth the English ambassador, roused the spirit of all ranks of his countrymen, who prepared to resist the attempt with unanimous ardour. On the other hand Bonaparte within a few days after the declaration of war, commanded Mortier to take possession of the electorate of Hanover, which with a slight opposition submitted to the French general. The English captured a few of the West-India islands, excepting which the two nations continued in statu quo, the one making immense preparations under the pretext of invading Great-Britain, and the other waiting the assault, until the commencement of the late continental war, which was finished in the short space of less than three months, including from Bonaparte's joining the army to the treaty of Presburg.

To support the government which he had formed, the consul established the legion of honour, into which all ranks of people were admitted whose talents and services had raised them to eminence in the republick. But the most interesting event to Bonaparte individually, which has occurred among the vicissitudes of the present war was the conspiracy concerted by the English ministry and which was to have been carried into effect by Georges, Pichegru and others ; that the

design was laudable none can allow but those who consider "killing no murder:" the consequence of its being discovered was the death of the principals, and the appointment of various punishments for those who assisted in the scheme....Pichegru's fate excited much commiseration, because his former ardour and success in the republican cause had procured him the respect and esteem of all those who had existed during the terrific scenes of the revolution....but his delinquency and premature death were absorbed in the louder sympathy which every tender heart indulged on behalf of Moreau, that hero and patriot whose name will adorn the history of France and of the age, of whom every tongue speaks with rapture, and whose character every man contemplates with unalloyed delight: that he was guilty of any design to disturb Bonaparte in the exalted station to which he was raised is so preposterous an idea as to require no refutation: but his personal situation, and the state of the world at that juncture, will justify the adoption of an opinion to which the general will fully assent, that the generosity of his heart, the urbanity of his temper, his politeness and the remembrance of his former intimacy with Pichegru combined, led him into a dilemma from which he could not extricate himself, and which forced him to submit to those painful circumstances in which he was afterwards involved, though his conduct can barely deserve

to be deemed an indiscretion ; Georges, Pichegru, and about forty others were committed to the Temple, and a warrant was immediately issued to apprehend Moreau. He was arrested in his carriage on the 15th of February, 1804, on the road from his country seat Gros Bois, to Paris : when Moncey, who was accompanied by 50 gens d'armes, ordered the coachman to stop, the general looked out of the window, and with the utmost coolness requested his coachman to drive him to the Abbey ; his servant replied with indignation and warmth, " No, general, they may conduct you there that will, not I ;" upon which he left the box, and one of the soldiers performed that duty. He continued in the Abbey three days only, being removed thence to the Temple, and it must be acknowledged that his confinement was most unjustifiably rigorous ; and here may it not be asked, have any government the right to divest a man of the tenderness and solace of his family and friends, even supposing him to be guilty of the crimes with which he is charged, at the time when he most needs their attention ? but in this case the fact is indisputable, that the French government were perfectly convinced of Moreau's innocence, as all civilized nations are at this moment.

On the 30th of May, 1804, after an imprisonment of more than three months, he was arraigned and tried with the other state prisoners. Of the advocates who offered to



plead for him, he accepted the services of Chaveaux Lagarde, a man of uncommon eloquence. The curiosity and anxiety of the public were so strongly excited, that the doors of the palace of justice were crowded by break of day, and the neighbouring streets filled with persons eager to hear the trial....he was dressed in the clothes which he wore at the battle of Hohenlinden. The indictments were read; the crimes alledged against him were: Not having denounced Pichegru in the year 5, at the detection of his criminality ....a reconciliation and culpable relation with Pichegru in England, through the agency of David and Lajolais....having engaged to establish the princes of the house of Bourbon upon the throne of France....having had interviews with Pichegru at Paris, and rejected certain overtures, but substituted others which had for their object the overthrow of the consular government....and of not having denounced the conspiracy.

His counsel most ably defended him against these several charges, proving their futility and absurdity: whilst he was arguing the impropriety of introducing the first allegation against him, Moreau interposed and said, "If I erred, it was an error against the directory, which has since been sufficiently expiated by my having gained thirty battles and saved two armies." Lagarde having concluded his defence, a profound silence prevailed for several minutes, when the general

rose with all the firmness of conscious innocence, and delivered that exquisite address to the court, which is infinitely superior to all eulogy :....

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ In presenting myself before you, I have to beg that you will favour me with a personal hearing for a few minutes. My confidence in the counsel whom I have retained is unbounded ; to them I resigned without reserve, the defence of my innocence ; and through their medium alone did I wish to address the court ; but my feelings tell me I must now myself say something to you and to the nation.

“ Some events in the life of the most virtuous men living may be obscured by unfortunate circumstances, effected either by chance or by malevolence. Finesse and artifice may do away suspicion from a criminal, and may seem to prove his innocence ; but the surest way to judge an impeached man is by the general tenour of his conduct through life. In this way then, I shall speak to my persecutors. My actions have been publick enough I conceive, to be well known. I shall call to your recollection but a few of them ; and the witnesses whom I desire to bring forward on this occasion are the French people themselves, and the nations whom France has conquered.

“ At the commencement of the revolution, which was to establish our independence, I was devoted to the study of the law ; but the scene was now changed, and I became a soldier. It was not from motives of ambition that I enrolled my name among the defenders of liberty. I engaged in the profession of arms to defend the rights of the nation, and became a warrior because I felt myself a citizen. This character I carried with me into the ranks, and I preserved it free from blemish. The more I became enraptured with independence, the more readily I submitted to discipline.

“ My promotion, though rapid, was not procured by fawning to the committees, and by overleaping the customary grades. It was the gradual reward of services rendered to my country. When I obtained the chief command, when victory prepared our way through hostile nations, my principal care was to impress on them respect for the character of the French people and a dread of their power. War, under my direction, was a scourge only in the field of battle. This, our enemies in the midst of their ravaged plains, have done me the justice to acknowledge; which perhaps, has been of more use to the nation than victory itself.

“ Such a line of conduct, at a time when contrary maxims seemed prevalent in the committees of the government, never once exposed me to the persecution or calumny of either party. Previous to the 10th of Fructidor, no cloud had arisen to obscure the laurels which I had won. The most active of those who were employed in the events of that too memorable day reproached me with tardiness in denouncing a man whom I regarded as a brother in arms, as long as by the evidence of facts I was not fully convinced that he was unjustly accused. The directory, to whom alone the particulars of my conduct were sufficiently known to draw conclusions from them, and who, it is well known, were not much inclined to indulgence, loudly proclaimed me free from fault. They again employed me in the field; not indeed in a very brilliant capacity, but in one which soon became ostensible.

“ The nation, I dare presume, has not yet forgotten how faithfully I discharged the trust reposed in me. It has not forgotten with how much readiness I took a subordinate command in Italy, and conquered my feelings upon the occasion. It has not forgotten that I was re-established in the chief command by the ill success of our armies, and that I was again made a general, in consequence of our misfortunes. It undoubt-

edly remembers that I twice supplied the wants of the army with the spoils of the vanquished, and that after having twice placed it in a condition to cope with the Russians and Austrians, I twice resigned the command of it, to take another of much greater responsibility.

“ At that period of my life I was not a more determined republican than I had been before, but I appeared so by becoming more conspicuous. On me alone the notice and confidence of such as could at pleasure give the government that bias which they pleased, seemed to be entirely placed. They proposed to me as it is very well known to become the head of a popular commotion similar to that of the 18th Brumaire ; so that my ambition, had it aspired much, could have easily clothed itself in all the appearances, nay even in the glory of the most refined sentiments of patriotism.

“ The proposals were made to me by characters who stood very high in the annals of the revolution, as ardent lovers of their country, and as men of eminent talents in our national assemblies. Their offers however, I disdained to embrace ; for although I felt myself adequate to the task of commanding the armies of the republick, I had no wish to command the republick itself.

“ I was at Paris on the 18th of Brumaire, and that revolutionary epoch which had been brought about by others, and to which I was a total stranger, could not in the least alarm my conscience. As it was directed by a man whose fame was emblazoned in the most brilliant characters, it had naturally brought my mind to hope for favourable results, and I therefore seconded his endeavours to the utmost of my power ; although opposite parties were eagerly soliciting me to avow myself his opponent. I obeyed the orders of Bonaparte at Paris, and by so doing I assisted in raising him to that degree of power which circumstances seemed to justify.



“ Some time after, when he offered me the chief command of the army on the Rhine, I accepted it from him with as much devotion as if it had been given me by the republick. Never were my military successes more rapid, more numerous, or more decisive, than at that period ; the splendour of which was reflected on the government by which I am now accused.

“ When I returned from the scene of so many triumphs, the chief advantage of which was the establishment of a continental peace my journey was cheered in every quarter by shouts of national gratitude.

“ Was this then a moment to become a traitor, even if my mind had been capable of entertaining such a design ! No one is insensible of the attachment which armies have to favourite leaders who have led them to victory. Suppose one of these were an ambitious traitor, would he not have taken advantage of the time when he had an hundred thousand victorious troops at his disposal to execute his projects, instead of returning to the bosom of a nation still in a state of ferment, and uncertain as to the form and duration of its political existence ?

“ My only wish was to disband the army, and bury myself in the retreats of civil life.

“ In that repose, which I am far from thinking inglorious, I certainly preserved my honour, of which no human power can ever deprive me. I enjoyed the remembrance of my past actions, the testimonies of my conscience, the esteem of my fellow-citizens and foreigners, and I dare presume the voice of posterity will declare the uprightness of my conduct.

“ I was in possession of a fortune which could be thought great only as my desires were moderate, and my conscience could not accuse me of having acquired it unfairly. I fully enjoyed the emoluments granted me on my retreat from the army. I was indeed content with my lot, for I never envied the lot of any man living. I was surrounded by friends,

who had no more to expect from my credit and fortune, but who still adhered to me from motives of personal attachment. My mind was so completely occupied by these blessings the only ones which I was ever enabled to value highly, that no ambitious desire could possibly intrude. How then should it be suddenly open to criminal designs?

“So well was my way of thinking known, so totally diverted were my ideas from the paths of ambition, that from the victory of Hohenlinden to the day of my arrest, no one could accuse me of any other crime than that of talking freely, and indeed my conversation was often favourable to the measures of government. But if by accident it were not always so, how could I imagine that to be a crime in a nation which had so often decreed the liberty of thought and speech, and which even under its kings had so fully enjoyed that privilege!

“I must confess that as I was born with an openness of disposition which characterises the country in which I first drew breath, I could not easily lose it in camps where every thing conspires to heighten its effects or in a revolution, where it was so often extolled as a virtue in individuals, and recommended as a duty to citizens at large. But do conspirators talk loudly on matters which they disapprove? Can candour and fair dealing be connected with the mysterious and dark machinations of intriguing men?

“If I had wished to carry any secret plans into execution, I should have dissembled my real sentiments, and courted an employment which would have given me the command of the national forces. I had instances enough of success in undertakings of such a nature, to make me sanguine. I knew that Monk, in the execution of his designs, did not withdraw from the reach of his army, and that Brutus and Cassius approached the heart of Cæsar only to pierce it.

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“Magistrates, I have nothing more to say. Such has been my character, and such my conduct through life. I solemnly call heaven and earth to witness the innocence and integrity of my intentions. You know your duty. France awaits your decision ; Europe contemplates your proceedings ; and posterity will determine the propriety of your judgment.”

The general was adjudged to be imprisoned for two years, which sentence was commuted to retirement from France : he chose the land of liberty as his future abode, and arrived in the United States on the twenty-fifth of August 1805 : although secluded from the world he is not forgotten ; and all those sentiments of respect and admiration which can inflame the heart, are still, and always will be predominant in every bosom, when his virtues, talents and excellence are contemplated.

On the ninth of June Madame de Polignac waited upon the emperor at St. Cloud, and in all the agony of distress importunately supplicated him for the pardon of her husband. She had been from six in the morning with the empress, who in the kindest and most affectionate manner, had not only supported and encouraged her, but had contrived the means of an interview with the emperor. The emperor regarded her with attention, and seemed to be very much moved by her attitude and tears. “I am astonished,” said his imperial majesty, “that monsieur de Polignac, whom I remember as the companion of my youth at the military school, should have en-

gaged in such an odious transaction. But as the attempt was made against my own life, I may be justified in pardoning him ; and I pardon him accordingly." On the eleventh of June, the sister and aunt of Monsieur de Riviere went to St. Cloud, to implore the clemency of the emperor in favour of their unhappy relative condemned to death. The emperor granted to the tears of his family the pardon which it solicited: and on the following day Mademoiselle Lajolais went alone to express her despair to Madame Louis Bonaparte. Her imperial highness received her with that goodness of heart of which the empress had given such an affecting example. She conducted the weeping girl immediately to St. Cloud. Her tears and supplications obtained the pardon of her father. When his majesty observed that this was the second time her father had been guilty of a crime against the state, "Sire," replied Mademoiselle Lajolais, in the accents of ingenuousness, her voice interrupted with sobs and tears...."The first time, my father was without doubt innocent, but now I supplicate of you his pardon." The pardon of M. Bouvet de Lozier was granted the same day to Mademoiselle Bouvet his sister, under the auspices of the princess Murat.

Whilst these trials were pending, the duke d'Enghien was seized in the territories of the margrave of Baden by a body of French troops who had been dispatched for that



purpose, and conducted to Paris. At the temple they found an order to proceed to Vincennes, where a military commission was assembled to try him....this farce like most other military examinations, for they can seldom be dignified with the name of a fair impartial scrutiny being ended, he was sentenced to death. The castle clock having struck two, the drum beat to arms, as a signal for the execution; he was led to the great oak of St. Louis by the light of torches, and encountered death with undismayed fortitude. That the duke was a very active member of the conspiracy which was at that crisis formed to assassinate Bonaparte, and consequently to overthrow the existing government will not admit of a doubt; but that the means which the consul used to secure him, and the premature death which he suffered were in any respect consistent either with the law of nations, or with that justice which is due to every man, it would be extremely difficult to demonstrate: although blood demands blood, and the conspiring to kill another is part of the crime of murder, yet human life must not be lightly sacrificed; the clearest evidence of the fact should be made indispensably requisite, and the punishment of death ought not to be inflicted, but after the most serious research; which seems hardly possible in those temporary courts of military men, who are judges and jury both, and who certainly never ought to be allowed to award a sentence of death without the

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approbation of twelve others of their countrymen, solemnly delivered after the usual patient investigation of a court of justice.

On the first of May 1804, the tribunate decreed, "That the government of the republick should be intrusted to an emperor, and that the office should be hereditary in the family of Napoleon Bonaparte." The senate decreed and published the new constitution on the eleventh : and on the twentieth, he was proclaimed "EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH."

*Bonaparte exalted to the Imperial dignity.*

IMMEDIATELY after the consul was proclaimed emperor of the French, every method was adopted to give stability to the new form of government ; all the splendour and appendages of royalty, the etiquette of courts, and the magnificence of its officers were introduced without delay, and to perpetuate the important events of which Bonaparte had been the principal mover, a new festival was appointed, his birth-day, which has been constantly celebrated on its annual return with the most unbounded pomp.

The ceremony of his coronation was splendid beyond all conception ; to authorize and sanction his imperial dignity, the Pope was requested to visit Paris, and to be present at his formal elevation to the first rank among the monarchs of Europe....it was solemnized on Frimaire 11th, Sunday December second 1804 : the coronation ornaments of Charlemagne were born before him in his procession to the church of Notre Dame. He en-

tered the cathedral with the crown placed previously upon his head by himself: the horses which drew the emperor's coach belonged formerly to the king of England at Hanover. At the moment their majesties entered the porch, the Pope descended from the throne, and advancing to the altar, sang *Veni Creator!* The emperor and the empress offered prayers upon their cushions; his holiness bestowed a triple unction on the head of the one, and on the two hands of the other. He then performed mass; after the mass, the Pope read prayers separately over both crowns, the sceptre, the sword, and the hand of justice. When all these were consecrated, Bonaparte replaced them, and himself crowned the empress. The Pope followed the emperor to the throne, where, after kissing him on the cheek, he cried aloud to the audience, "*Vivat Imperator in eternum!*" After the elevation of the host, and the *Agnus Dei*, Bonaparte, with the crown upon his head, and his hand upon the gospel, pronounced the oath; when, the chief Herald at arms proclaimed, in a loud tone of voice: "The most glorious and most august emperor Napoleon, emperor of the French, is crowned! Long live the emperor!"

Aware of the popularity, which would necessarily arise to him from a repetition of that measure which when Consul had so materially exalted his character, under the impression of his moderation and love of peace; he re-



solved to make another attempt to dissipate the clouds which portended the most fearful effects to the two contending nations. With this view he dispatched a letter written by himself to the king of England, and defying the narrow policy which demands a formality not useless only, but also pernicious, he argues like a man who could lose nothing by war, but to whom the comfort of those whom he governed was an object supremely interesting to his heart: the answer which was returned by the British minister was unsatisfactory, unmeaning, and evasive. As a correspondence between these dignified personages, is a very rare occurrence, the letters are too valuable to be omitted.

LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR TO THE KING OF ENGLAND.

“SIRE MY BROTHER,

“Called to the throne of France by Providence, by the suffrages of the Senate, the people and the army, my first sentiment is the wish of peace. France and England are destroying their prosperity; they may contend for ages. But their governments, do they fulfill faithfully the most sacred of their duties? And so much blood shed unnecessarily and without any prospect of an end, does it not accuse them in their own consciences?—I attach no dishonour to making the first step. I have sufficiently I think, proved to the world that I fear not any of the chances of war; it offers me nothing of which I ought to be afraid. Peace is the wish of my heart; but war has never been adverse to my glory. I conjure your majesty not to refuse to yourself the happiness of giving peace to the world; let not this sweet satisfaction be left to your children. For in short, there never existed a fairer opportunity, or a more favourable moment, to put an end to all the passi-

ons, and to listen only to the sentiments of humanity and of reason. This moment once lost, what term of duration can be assigned to a war which all my efforts shall have been unable to bring to a close? Your majesty has gained more in territory and in riches during the last ten years, than the whole extent of Europe; your nation is at the highest pitch of prosperity. What is she to expect from war? To coalesce some of the powers of the continent? The continent will remain tranquil. A coalition would only increase the preponderance and continental grandeur of France. To renew the troubles in the interior? The times are no longer the same. To destroy our finances? Finances founded upon a good agriculture can never be destroyed. To deprive France of her colonies? The colonies are with France a secondary object only; and does not your majesty possess already more than you can maintain? If your majesty will think seriously, you will perceive that the war is without an object, and without any presumeable result. Alas! what a melancholy prospect, to make men fight for the sake of fighting! The world is large enough for our two nations to live in, and reason is sufficiently powerful to find out the means of reconciliation if a suitable disposition to be reconciled exist on both sides. I have meanwhile fulfilled a duty holy and precious to my heart. May your majesty believe in the sincerity of the sentiments which I have just expressed to you, and in my desire of giving you proofs of it.

*Paris, 12th Nivose, year 13, Jan. 2, 1805.*

“BONAPARTE.”

### LETTER

*From Lord MULGRAVE to his excellency M. de TALLEYRAND,  
minister of foreign affairs.*

“His majesty has received the letter which has been addressed to him by the chief of the French government, dated the second of the present month.

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“ There is no object which his majesty has more at heart than to seize the first opportunity of procuring anew to his subjects the advantages of a peace founded on a basis not incompatible with the permanent security and the essential interests of his states. His majesty is persuaded that this object cannot be obtained but by arrangements which must at the same time provide for the future safety and tranquillity of Europe, and to prevent the renewal of those dangers and misfortunes by which she has found herself surrounded.

“ Conformably to this sentiment, his majesty feels it impossible to reply more particularly to the overture which has been made to him, until he has had time to communicate with those powers of the continent with whom he is engaged in confidential intercourse and connection, and especially with the emperor of Russia, who has given the strongest proofs of the wise and dignified sentiments with which he is animated, and of the lively interest he takes in the safety and independence of Europe.

“ MULGRAVE.”

*Downing-street, 14th January, 1805.*

A short time only had elapsed after this overture for peace was made, previous to the attendance of a large deputation from the legislative body at the French court, and who with the customary forms through the medium of their president Fontaines, delivered their address, to which the French emperor replied :

*Gentlemen deputies from the legislative body,*

“ When I resolved to write to the king of England, I made a sacrifice of the most dutiful sentiments, and the purest motives. I was influenced by a desire to spare the blood of my people. I shall always be ready to make the same sacrifices : My fame, my happiness, I have placed in the welfare of the present generation. I was desirous, as far as lay in my pow-

er, to render philanthropick and magnanimous ideas, the prevalent ones of the present age. It belongs to me, whose sentiments cannot be ascribed to weakness, it belongs to us, to the most humane, the most enlightened, and most benevolent people, to remind the nations of Europe, that they make together but one family, and every undertaking which they execute in their civil divisions, militates against the general warfare. Gentlemen of the legislative body, I depend upon your assistance, as well as upon the valour of my army."

On the eighteenth of March, the members of the consulta visited Bonaparte at the Thuilleries, who received them on his throne in the presence of the princes, and the great officers of state. The vice-president Mr. Melzi briefly addressed him, and then read to him the resolutions of the consulta, whereby he was declared king of Italy with the throne hereditary in his male descendents; but that the two crowns could be united in *his* person only, as no future emperor of France could be king of Italy: to this they added the right to appoint his successor and even to resign his crown whilst living; and requested his acceptance of the new dignity. To their wish he consented, remarking "That he would keep the crown until he should be able to transfer it to a younger person who would continue his work, and be ready to sacrifice his life to the happiness of the people over whom providence, the constitution, and *his* will should call him to reign."



The following note was received by Mr. Livingston the American ambassador a short time previous to his departure from Paris, and was addressed to him by the emperor's order :

*“ Paris, April 1805.*

“ I have thought it would be particularly agreeable to you, to be able to encourage in your own country a taste for the arts, and with this view I have the honour to send you a collection of the old and new Calcography of the fathers and brothers Piranisi. These engraved and coloured designs will be advantageously placed in the museum of New York, and will moreover demonstrate the interest with which you have inspired us for whatever may contribute to the instruction and accomplishment of your young countrymen.

“ I intreat you, Sir, to accept the assurances of my high consideration.

“ C. M. TALLEYRAND.”

This valuable collection which Mr. Livingston brought with him to the United States consisted of 24 folio volumes of prints, with several port folios, containing copies in oil and water colours from Raphael and from Antiques, views of Constantinople, Cairo, &c. &c.

The coronation of the emperor as king of Italy was performed in Milan on the twenty-third of May, with every degree of brilliancy; the presence of the principal officers of the French court increasing the effect which it was intended to produce: the trappings of monarchy were instantaneously added....the great state officers were appointed with profuse salaries, and the whole regime definitively established.

The French and Russian courts had been negotiating during the whole year, thereby to avert the war with which the British government were endeavouring to inflame the European continent; but their discussions were closed on the tenth of July; the Russian minister being ordered to return to Petersburg, although he had arrived at Berlin on his way to Paris. During the whole year large bodies of troops had been collecting by France and Austria....the former stationed in June 25,000 men near Marengo; 32,000 in Lombardy and Mantua, 12,000 in Piedmont, 16,000 in the kingdom of Naples, 20,000 in Genoa, Tuscany, and the Papal dominions; besides 15,000 Italian regulars: the troops of the latter amounted to 60,000 men in Tyrol and the Venetian states, whilst the Russians and English formed a body of 20,000 in the Mediterranean.

About the latter end of August, the warlike preparations on the part of Russia and Austria were so evident that Bonaparte visited Boulogne to direct the march of the soldiers from the coast to the Rhine: thirty thousand fresh troops were likewise ordered to be immediately raised, and the army of reserve was directed to actual service.

The Austrian army was increased to 100,000 men encamped at Wels: on the fourth of September general Mack was appointed commander in Germany, the Archduke Charles in Italy and Tyrol, and the

Arch-duke Ferdinand to the army of the Vorarlberg.

That short but unparalleled campaign was begun by the Austrians, who on the seventh of September, crossed the Inn at Burhausen in two columns; one column arrived on the tenth at Landshut, the other marched towards Munich. The Austrians after crossing the Inn, took possession of nearly the whole of Bavaria, and garrisoned all the principal cities on the Danube....the Bavarian troops immediately retired to Wurtzburg, whither the elector had retired with his court and the whole army was assembled in that city.

The commencement of hostilities by the Austrians produced increased exertions on the part of the French government, so that in less than a month, the encampment at Boulogne which had been formed for the alledged purpose of invading England disappeared, and the whole army in that interval marched through the kingdom, and arrived with all their military stores, equipage, &c. on the Rhine, where Bonaparte assumed the command. Massena was appointed commander in chief in Italy: he arrived at the headquarters Valeggio, on the 10th Fructidor, August twenty-seventh: having examined the fortifications of Mantua and declared them impregnable, he waited for the commencement of hostilities with his whole force stationed along the Adige. The grand army

having reached Strasburg, Bonaparte prepared to join them : previous to his departure he assembled the senate, and delivered the following address :

SENATORS :

“ In the present circumstances of Europe, I feel the necessity of appearing in the midst of you, and of making known to you my sentiments.

“ I am about to quit my capital to put myself at the head of my army, to carry a speedy succour to my allies and to defend the dearest interests of my people.

“ The wishes of the eternal enemies of the continent are accomplished ; war has begun in the heart of Germany. Austria and Russia have united with England, and our generation is drawn anew into the calamities of war. A few days ago, I still hoped that peace would not be disturbed ; menaces and outrages found me impassible ; but the Austrian army has crossed the Inn, Munich is invaded, the Elector of Bavaria is driven out of his capital ; and all my hopes are vanished.

“ It is at this instant that the wickedness of the enemies of the continent has unveiled itself. They were yet apprehensive of the manifestation of my profound love of peace ; they were apprehensive lest Austria, at the sight of the abyss which they have dug under her footsteps, should return to sentiments of justice and moderation ; they have hurried her into war. I am grieved at the blood which it will cost Europe ; but the French name will obtain new lustre from it.

“ Senators, when at your desire, at the voice of the whole French people, I set the imperial crown upon my head, I received from you, from every citizen, the engagement to maintain it pure and unsullied. My people have given me in every circumstance, proofs of their confidence and their love.



They will fly under the colours of the emperor and of his army, which in a few days will have passed the frontiers.

“Magistrates, soldiers, and citizens, all wish to maintain the country free from the influence of England, who, if she prevailed, would grant to us a peace characterized by ignominy and shame only, and the principal conditions of which would be the burning of our fleets, the filling up of our ports and the annihilation of our industry.

“All the promises which I have made to the French people I have kept. The French people, in their turn, have made no engagement with me which they have not surpassed. In this circumstance so important for their glory and mine, they will continue to merit that name of great people, with which I saluted them in the midst of the field of battle.

“Frenchmen, your emperor will do his duty, my soldiers will do theirs, you will do yours.”

Bonaparte left Paris on the twenty-fifth of September, on the same day that the French began to cross the Rhine. At this juncture the contending armies were thus situated. The Austrian line extended from the borders of Hungary to Switzerland, including Italy and Bavaria, with a body of reserve in Bohemia. The whole amounted to 200,000 men, 70,000 of which were to act in Italy, and the remainder against Bonaparte. The Russians amounted to 110,000 men in Galicia, who were divided into two corps and were marching with all speed to form a junction with the Austrians. The French troops were stated at 140,000 men, under the immediate direction of Bonaparte, and 70,000 commanded by Massena in Italy. The Austrians hastened

through Bavaria to oppose the progress of the French army which had crossed the Rhine, and who were aided by the co-operation of the elector of Bavaria, the duke of Wirtemberg, and the margrave of Baden.

Previous to the commencement of military operations, Bonaparte issued this proclamation :....

**SOLDIERS !**

“ The war of the third coalition has begun....the Austrian army has passed the Inn, violated treaties, and has attacked and driven our ally from his capital. You yourselves have been compelled to advance by forced marches to the defence of our frontiers. Already you have passed the Rhine. We will not stop until we have secured the independence of the Germanick body, assisted our allies, and confounded the pride of unjust aggressors. We will not again make peace without a sufficient guarantee. Our policy shall no more give way to our generosity.

“ Soldiers ! Your emperor is in the midst of you ; you are the advanced guard only of a great people. If it should be necessary they will all arise at my voice to confound and dissolve this new league, which has been formed by the hatred and the gold of England.

“ But Soldiers, we shall have forced marches to make, fatigues and privations of every kind to endure. Whatever obstacles may be opposed to us, we will overcome them, and we will take no rest until we have planted our eagles on the territory of our allies.

“ **NAPOLEON.**”

Immediately after the French army had crossed the Rhine, its different divisions advanced with the utmost rapidity into Suabia

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and the heart of Germany. On the 14th Vendemiaire, October sixth, Soult's division by a forced march arrived at Donawerth, and after a slight skirmish with a body of Austrians took possession of the bridge over the Wernitz....Murat the next morning, arrived with his dragoons, hastened to the Lech, charged the Austrians who were stationed to defend the passage of that river, forced them to retreat, and secured the bridge. Soult with his corps continued their march towards Augsburg, whilst St. Hilaire approached that city on the opposite bank. On the 16th, eighth, Murat with a squadron of cavalry proceeded to cut off the road between Ulm and Augsburg: on arriving at Wertingen, they were opposed by a corps of Austrian infantry....Murat instantly surrounded the whole body, and being soon after joined by Lasnes, who accompanied the cavalry in their march, an engagement commenced which continued two hours, and ended in the capture of the whole corps, 4,000 privates, the colours, cannon, baggage, and the greater part of the officers. Col. Maupelet, who began the attack at Wertingen, was mortally wounded during the action....dying, he uttered this encomium upon the regiment which he commanded: "Let the emperor be informed that the ninth regiment of dragoons proved itself worthy of the reputation which it has acquired; that it attacked and conquered amidst the cries of "Long live the Emperor."

On the twelfth of October, Bonaparte wrote to the prefect and the other officers of the city of Paris :....

*“ Messieurs the Prefect and Mayors of our good city of Paris,*

*“ Our troops having at the battle of Wertingen defeated twelve battalions of grenadiers, with the flower of the Austrian cavalry, all their artillery remaining in our hands, as also a great number of prisoners and eight stand of colours, we have resolved to make a present of the colours to our good city of Paris, and of two pieces of cannon to remain at the Hotel de Ville. We desire that our good city of Paris recognise in this memorial and token the love that we bear her, which will be so much the more precious to her as it was her governor who commanded our troops at the battle of Wertingen. This letter having no other object, we pray God to take you into his holy keeping.”*

Soult entered Augsburg on the 17th, ninth, Davoust entered Neuberg, Bernadotte was posted at Ingolstadt, and Murat stationed himself at Zusmerhausen, where he was soon after joined by Lasnes and his corps : here Bonaparte reviewed the dragoons. One of the dragoons named Marente was presented to him as a brave man who at the crossing of the Lech had saved the life of his captain, although he had on the day before deprived him of his commission; the courage and magnanimity which this act displayed, induced Bonaparte to present him with the Eagle of the legion of Honour....upon which Marente replied, “ I did nothing more than my duty.... my captain disgraced me for neglect of discipline, but he knows that I have always been a good soldier.”



The whole of the army continued upon a forced march during these events ; Bonaparte himself was their example ; to him night and day were similar ; wherever his presence was needful he was instantaneously to be found ; he rode forty miles daily, and unattended reposed in the meanest accommodations.

The rapidity with which Bonaparte executed his design, reflects great credit on him in his military capacity. His object was to destroy the Austrian army previous to its junction with the Russians, who were represented to be on their march with all possible expedition to unite with general Mack, whose forces were concentrated at Ulm, and with the exception of 15,000 men under prince Ferdinand, who had been detached towards Bohemia, commanded the whole of the army destined to act in Germany. On the day after the battle at Wertingen, the armies encountered each other at Gunzburgh ; the contest was exceedingly obstinate ; the Austrians made a very vigorous resistance on the bridge, but it was carried by the French, and six pieces of cannon taken ; the loss of the Austrians amounted to 2,500 men, of whom 1,200 were prisoners.

When Marmont's army crossed the Lech, Bonaparte was present ; he desired each regiment to form in a circle, and then addressed them on the situation of the Austrians, the approach of a general engagement, and expressed unbounded confidence in their bra-

very. Although there was a heavy fall of snow at the time, the roads knee deep in mud, and the weather extremely cold, the army evinced the ardour which had before distinguished them, and by their animation presaged the victory which was to follow. These various movements of the French troops, which rendered their situation almost inexpugnable; entirely severed the communication of the Austrian army, and left them insulated in a small district from which there was no escape but by forcing their way through the main body of the French army. By a march through the Prussian territory of Anspach, Bernadotte had advanced to Munich, whilst the army extended from Memmingen to Augsburg, Burgaw, Newburg, Ingolstadt and Donawert, forming a cordon which totally separated the Austrians from all relief except by a complete victory, as they were surrounded without any possibility or means of retreating. In this situation Bonaparte wrote to the empress, requesting her to be tranquil, and assuring her that she might anticipate a short but brilliant campaign. The French emperor perceiving all the difficulties which attended the situation of the Austrian army, forced the bridge of Elchingen, and thereby secured his position. Soult endeavoured to hinder prince Ferdinand from reaching Bohemia, but he was too late to effect that object; Murat had combated him at Langenau and made 3,000

prisoners, and continuing his progress advanced to Neresheim, where he conquered another thousand.

Bonaparte was noticing a crowd of those who had been captured, when an Austrian colonel expressed his surprise to see him wet, fatigued and dirty : one of the aides-de-camp explained to him what the officer said, upon which Bonaparte replied : “ Your master “ wishes to make me recollect that I was a “ soldier : I hope he will allow that the “ throne and the imperial purple have not in- “ duced me to forget my first profession.” Ulm was four times stormed ; and on the fourteenth and fifteenth, the siege by sap had been carried on with so much vigour and effect, that the whole of the curtain on two faces of the works, and the principal redoubts must have been destroyed : Bonaparte therefore having gained possession of the heights which command Ulm, sent for the Prince de Lichtenstein, who was among the generals inclosed in that city, and informed him of his wish, that the army should capitulate, and as the position of the Austrians was not defensible, that they ought to surrender : to which after some discussion general Mack consented, and the whole Austrian army became prisoners of war.

During the evening before the surrender of Ulm, Bonaparte issued the following address to the army :

“SOLDIERS !

“A month ago we were encamped on the shores of the Ocean opposite to England ; but an impious league compelled us to fly towards the Rhine.

“It is but a fortnight since we passed that river, the Alps of Wirtemberg, the Necker, the Danube, and the Lech ; those celebrated barriers of Germany have not retarded our march a day, an hour, or an instant. Indignation against a Prince whom we have twice re-seated on his throne, when it depended entirely on our pleasure to hurl him from it, supplied us with wings. The enemy’s army deceived by our manœuvres and the rapidity of our movements, is completely turned. It now fights for its safety only. It would gladly embrace an opportunity of escaping and returning home ; but it is now too late. The fortifications which it erected at a great expence, along the Iller, expecting that we should advance through the passes of the Black Forest, are become useless, since we have approached by the plains of Bavaria.

“Soldiers, but for the army which is now in front of you, we should this day have been in London ; we should have avenged ourselves for six centuries of insults, and restored the freedom of the seas.

“But bear in mind to-morrow, that you are fighting against the allies of England ; that you have to avenge yourselves on a perjured Prince, whose own letter breathed nothing but peace, at the moment when he was marching his army against our ally ; who thought us cowardly enough to suppose, that we should tamely witness his passage of the Inn, his entry into Munich, and his aggressions against the elector of Bavaria. He thought we were occupied elsewhere ; let him, for the third and last time learn, that we know how to be present in every place where the country has enemies to combat.

“Soldiers, to-morrow will be an hundred times more celebrated than the day of Marengo, I have placed the enemy in the same position.



“Recollect that the most remote posterity will remark the conduct of each of you on this memorable day. Your progeny, five hundred years hence, who may place themselves under those eagles around which we rally, will know in detail every thing which your respective corps shall achieve to-morrow, and the manner in which your courage shall confer on them eternal celebrity. This will constitute the perpetual subject of their conversation; and from age to age, you will be held up to the admiration of future generations.

“Soldiers, if I wished to conquer the enemy only, I should not have thought it necessary to make an appeal to your courage and your attachment to the country and to my person; but merely to conquer him is doing nothing worthy of you or your emperor. It is necessary that not a man of the enemy’s army should escape; that that government which has violated all its engagements, should first learn its catastrophe by your arrival under the walls of Vienna; and that, on receiving this fatal intelligence, its conscience, if it listen to the voice of conscience, should tell it, that it has betrayed both its solemn promises of peace, and the first of the duties bequeathed by its ancestors, the power of forming the rampart of Europe against the irruptions of the Cossacks.

“Soldiers, who have been engaged in the affairs of Wertingen and Guntzburg, I am satisfied with your conduct. Every corps in the army will emulate you, and I shall be able to say to my people....“Your emperor and your army have done their duty, perform your’s,” and the 200,000 conscripts whom I have summoned, will hasten by forced marches, to reinforce our second line.”

“NAPOLEON.”

On the seventeenth of October the capitulation was signed, and on the twentieth the Austrians evacuated Ulm: in the town were 27,000 men, 3,000 horses, 18 generals and

70 pieces of cannon. On the eighteenth M. Locatelli surrendered his dragoons to general Fauconnet, and on the following day general Werneck with his division submitted to Murat. The whole number of Austrians who became prisoners of war in this short space of time amounted to 60,000 men, with all their cannon, ammunition, &c. Bonaparte addressed the Austrian generals for whom he sent, as their army was filing by him, in the following terms: "Gentlemen, your master carries on an unjust war....I tell you plainly, I know not what can be required of me. It is not in this army alone that my resources consist, though were this the case, still my army and myself would make considerable progress. But I shall appeal to the testimony of your own prisoners of war who will speedily pass through France; they will observe with their own eyes the spirit which animates my people, and with what eagerness they flock to my standard. This is the advantage of my nation and my position. At a single word, 200,000 volunteers crowd to the colours, and in six weeks become good soldiers; whereas your recruits march from compulsion, and do not become soldiers but after several years service."

"I would give my brother the emperor of Germany one further piece of advice; let him hasten to make peace; this is the moment to recollect that all empires have an

end; the idea *that the end of the dynasty of the house of Lorraine may have arrived, should impress him with terror.*"

"I desire nothing upon the continent. I want ships, colonies, and commerce; and it is as much your interest as mine that I should have them."

M. Mack replied, "That the emperor of Germany had not wished for war, but was compelled to it by Russia." "*If that be the case,*" said the emperor, "*then you are no more a power.*"

The Austrian prisoners, when defiling before Napoleon I. testified an extreme eagerness to see him, and the utmost satisfaction at contemplating him: they said that one day, at the army of Italy, upon a similar occasion, whilst the prisoners were marching before him, when he saw some with wounded men, Bonaparte took off his hat, saying, "Honour to courage in misfortune;" he held it in his hand, and made all the generals and officers around him do the same, during the whole passage of this sad procession. The French soldiers never exceeded in regularity of behaviour, and magnanimity, their conduct during this march through Germany.

On the eighteenth of October, the emperor sent to the senators a note with a large quantity of colours, &c. the trophies of the success which had attended the French army. The note was read to that body by Joseph Bonaparte grand elector :....

“ Senators—I send you forty stands of colours, which my army has conquered in the different actions which took place since that at Wertingen. It is a homage which I and my army pay to the sages of the empire. It is an offering made by children to their father. Senators, accept it as a proof of my satisfaction for the manner in which you have always assisted me in the most important concerns of the empire. And you Frenchmen, cause your brothers to march, let them hasten to combat by our sides in order that, without shedding blood, without extraordinary exertions, we may repel far from us all the armies created by the gold of England, and overwhelm with confusion the allies of the oppressor of the seas. Senators, a month is not yet elapsed since I told you that your emperor and his army would do their duty....I am impatient to say my people have done theirs. Since I began the campaign, I have dispersed an army of one hundred thousand men; I have almost taken the half of them prisoners; the rest are killed, wounded or deserted, and reduced to the greatest consternation. These brilliant successes I owe to the affections of my soldiers, and to their patience in supporting fatigue. I have lost 1500 men only in killed and wounded. Senators, the first object of the war is already fulfilled. The elector of Bavaria is re-established on his throne. The unjust aggressors have been struck, as if by lightning, and with the help of God, I hope in a short space of time, to be able to triumph over my other enemies.

“From my imperial camp at Elehingen, 26 Vendemaire October eighteen.

“NAPOLEON.”

The Austrian army having been thus annihilated without much labour or fatigue for the French troops, the emperor animated his soldiers by this address :....



*Imperial head-quarters at Elchingen, 29 Vendemiaire, October  
twenty first,*

“Soldiers of the grand army....In a fortnight we have finished a campaign. We have accomplished our purpose. We have expelled the troops of the house of Austria from Bavaria, and re-established our ally in the sovereignty of his states. That army, which with equal ostentation and imprudence, had posted itself on our frontiers is annihilated. But what does that signify to England? Her purpose is accomplished. We are no longer at Boulogne, and the amount of her subsidy will thereby be neither increased nor diminished.

“Of 100,000 men who composed that army, 60,000 are prisoners; they will go to take the place of our conscripts in the labour of our fields. Two hundred pieces of cannon, their whole park, 90 stands of colours, and all their generals, are in our hands....there have not escaped of this army 15,000 men. Soldiers I announced to you a great battle....but thanks to the bad combinations of the enemy, I have been able to obtain the same success, without running any risks and what is unexampled in the history of nations, so important a result has not diminished our force more than fifteen hundred men.

“Soldiers, you owe this success to your unbounded confidence in your emperor....to your patience in bearing fatigues and privations of every description, and to your singular intrepidity.

“But we will not stop here. You are impatient to commence a second campaign. We are about to make that Russian army, which the gold of England has transported from the extremities of the universe, undergo the same fate.

“In this contest is more particularly implicated the honour of the infantry. It is this which will a second time, decide the question, already resolved in Switzerland and Holland....whether the French infantry be the second or the first in Europe? Here there are no generals in combating whom I can

have any glory to acquire. All my care shall be to obtain the victory with the least possible effusion of blood—my soldiers are my children.

“Given at my imperial camp of Elchingen, 29th Vendémiaire, 14th year, October twenty-first, 1805.”

General Werneck having surrendered his division, prince Ferdinand with 1000 horse, and some artillery, fled into the Prussian territory, and marched by Gunzenhausen for Nuremberg. Murat followed and overtook him, which occasioned a battle in the night of the twenty-first of October; by this skirmish the French possessed themselves of 200,000 florins, the remainder of the cannon and all the baggage, but did not capture the prince.

Bonaparte immediately seized the advantages of the immense preponderance which his success had procured him, and did not delay the consummation of his design, which was to humble the Austrian family. He left Ulm, and on the 2d of Brumaire, October twenty-third, arrived at Munich....on the following day the French army crossed the Isar, and hastened with all possible expedition to the Inn, where Bernadotte, Marmont and Davoust, with their divisions, posted themselves on the 5th, twenty-sixth. The advanced part of the Russian army were stationed behind the Inn, and appeared to be disposed to dispute the passage of that river, but the French divisions being joined by Murat's cavalry, and having succeeded in erect-

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ing the bridges, the allied troops began to retire, and immediately retreated from Braunau, a strongly fortified town, which was delivered to Lasnes without opposition....a very large quantity of provisions, ammunition and other military stores were the reward of that celerity which marks all the movements of Bonaparte; and Braunau, from the excellence of its situation, and its other advantages, became the depot of the head-quarters of the army. On the 9th, thirtieth, Murat pursued the flying Austrians, and at Lambach on the road to Merobach, encountered a body of 6,000 men; but night soon hindered the combatants from perceiving each other, and in the morning the whole body of the Austrians was dispersed, except 500 prisoners. The weather at this time was very unfavourable; the cold was great, the snow a foot deep, and the roads almost impassable; notwithstanding all these disadvantages, Bonaparte made forced marches, and encouraged the army to submit to every difficulty without a murmur....desirous to counteract the intention of the Austrian and Russian emperors, who anticipated a complete discomfiture of the French army could they have joined their forces so as to act with energy, he admitted nothing to impede his progress, and sacrificing his own personal comfort and ease, he was intent upon one object only, and to that he made every thing submit. The French army

now began to draw near to the Russians, who under the command of Kutusow were cantoned from Instatt upon the Danube, along the right bank of the Inn to the mouth of the Salza, where general Meerfelt was posted with the wreck of the Austrian army.

Murat who commanded a detached body which was destined to act as the vicissitudes of the campaign might require, and which by the rapidity of its movements, was denominated *the flying army*, allowed the confederates no leisure : continuing his pursuit he passed through Lambach, and on the 10th, November first, took possession of Wels.... he was immediately followed by Lasnes, Davoust and Soult, who posted themselves at Wels, Lintz and Lambach. At Lintz, the Austrian army chest, containing several hundred thousand florins was part of the spoil ; and at Lambach, very valuable magazines of salt belonged to the victorious army. Whilst these divisions had been employed in marching to Vienna with little or no opposition ; Bernadotte detached Kellerman with the advanced guard to cut off the retreat of a body of the Austrians who were retiring towards Carinthia. At the fort of Passling, which covered the Austrian troops, in the defile of Colling, the combatants met, and after a severe but short conflict, the Austrian column was discomfited, 5,000 of them were prisoners and the rest dispersed....the capture of a very large quantity of arms increased



the value of the victory. On the 12th, second, the French army advanced to Steyer, and the cavalry under Murat proceeded to Ebersberg, in which city a small body of troops had been posted to prevent the passage of the Traun: but the artillery on the bank covering the ferry...the French in boats crossed the river, and carried it at once with their usual impetuosity. Passing on to Vienna the combatants met at Asten, and after a slight skirmish the Austrians fled in great disorder. On the 13th, third, the victorious army passed the Ens, and the indefatigable Murat attacked the Russians on the heights of Amstetten which produced an obstinate contest: but the latter were driven from all their posts, with the loss of 400 men dead in the field, and 1,500 prisoners. Davoust also continued his march, and established himself at Wahidoffen. Whilst these events occurred in one part of the army, the Bavarians had encountered the Austrians at Lovers....the latter occupied a defile of peculiar difficulty and almost inaccessible, it being flanked on two sides by perpendicular mountains; but the Bavarians after a vigorous resistance completed the rout, and captured a small number of the Russians, upon which the rest fled, and left the Bavarians masters of the field.

Immediately after the battle of Amstetten, the Russians accelerated their retreat and destroyed all the bridges upon the Ips, but this

precaution was ineffectual ; Murat on the 16th, seventh, established himself in the Abbey of Molk, and on the 17th, eighth, Marmont marched towards Leoben ; upon his arrival at Wezer, he was opposed by an Austrian regiment, who after the first charge surrendered themselves prisoners of war to the conquerors. Davoust in the mean time was marching by the high road leading directly to Vienna ; on the 17th, eighth, the advanced guard being at the distance of a few leagues from Marienzell, encountered the Austrian army under general Meerfelt, who was hastening to Neudstadt to cover the capital ; a vigorous conflict ensued, which like every other engagement during the campaign, ended in the total rout of the Austrians....the French pursued them twelve miles, and at its conclusion discovered that they were masters of three stands of colours, 16 pieces of cannon and 4,000 prisoners.

The emperor of Germany, the empress, the court, and the grandees, began now to prepare for their departure from Vienna, and early in November retired to Brunn ; on the eighteenth, the emperor of Russia was introduced to the German court at Olmutz, whither they had proceeded, as soon as the French army entered the capital. Whilst at Brunn, after his flight from the seat of government the emperor of Germany published this proclamation :....

T T

## PROCLAMATION.

“ His majesty the emperor and king had never a higher wish than the maintenance of peace. This wish lay in the principle of his government as well as in his heart. Without any, even the most distant project of enlarging his states, or of procuring an indemnification for the sacrifices which he had made at Luneville and Ratisbon to the tranquillity of Europe, he desired nothing but that the emperor of France, actuated by a similar spirit of enlightened and humane policy, should return within the limits prescribed by the Treaty of Luneville. Whoever with a clear understanding took an interest in the fate of Europe, felt the justice and moderation of this desire.

“ True to his principles, his majesty, in the progress of the present war, was ready every moment to hold out his hand to peace, and amid the most brilliant victories, he would have thought and acted in the same way as under the influence of contrary occurrences.

“ His majesty believed that the great and happy moment of this reconciliation, and of returning happiness to his people, was not far distant, as the emperor of France had on several occasions publicly manifested corresponding dispositions, and expressed himself with precision in the same spirit to Austrian general officers, whom the fortune of war had made prisoners.

“ Full of confidence in such manifestations, and animated by an earnest wish to avert the approaching danger from the capital of Vienna, so dear to his heart, and in general, to free his good and faithful subjects from the pressure of a longer war, his majesty sent his lieutenant field marshal the count de Guilay, to the head quarters of the French Emperor, in the name of himself and his allies, to obtain a confirmation of these pacifick dispositions, to learn the further overtures which the emperor Napoleon might make on this occasion, and to treat for an armistice as preparatory to negotiations for a general peace.

“ But the hopes of his majesty were not fulfilled. As the basis of an armistice limited to a few weeks, the emperor of France demanded :

“ That the allied troops should return home ; that the Hungarian levies should be disbanded ; and that the duchy of Venice and Tyrol, should be previously evacuated to the French armies.

“ All Europe will feel the inconsistency between such demands, and the foregoing manifestations of the emperor. His majesty the emperor and king had, by this first step, fulfilled a sacred duty which his heart had dictated.

“ But he would have thought himself grievously injuring his own person, the honour of his monarchy, the dignity of his house, the reputation of the good and great nation over which he rules, and the highest interests of the states, in the eyes both of the present and of future generations, if notwithstanding the duty incumbent on him to preserve all these entire, he had yielded to the severe, but passing pressure of the moment, and assented to conditions which would have been a death-blow to his monarchy, and a breach of the relations in which he stood with all friendly states.

“ His majesty wished for peace :....he wishes for it still, with sincerity and earnestness. But he never could, and never will place himself in a defenceless state, where he and his people will be delivered over to the imperious and arbitrary decisions of a mighty foe.

“ In such circumstances nothing remains to his majesty, but to cleave to those great and unexhausted resources which he finds in the hearts, in the prosperity, in the loyalty, in the strength of his people : and in the as yet undiminished force of his high allies and friends, the emperor of Russia, and king of Prussia; and to persist in this firm and intimate connection till the emperor of the French, with that moderation which is the brightest gem in the crown of a great monarch, consents to



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conditions of peace which are not purchased by a sacrifice of the national honour and independence of a mighty state."

The Russian army effected its retreat to Krems, by recrossing the Danube, anticipating the impossibility of a return, if Mortier, who was marching with great velocity on the left bank of the Danube should advance beyond him to any considerable distance. The Austrian army after the capture of Ulm, appears in all its conduct to have been so terrified as to have lost all prudence and skill. The country between the Inn and the Danube is intersected with several rivers, over which wooden bridges only have been constructed; and nearly the whole distance is one immense pine forest, forming the best possible security to an army acting on the defensive, and affording opportunities of stationing troops in strong positions, from which they could not be forced. Nevertheless, with all these advantages, the Austrians and Russians seemed to be solicitous respecting their personal safety only, and retreated with so much disorder as to leave money, arms, ammunition, and military stores of every kind to be seized by the French without the trouble of a contest. Soult continued to advance and to surmount every thing which was opposed to him; the haste which he made forced the Austrians under general Meerfeldt, to divide themselves into small parties that a battle might be avoided, and thus the whole corps by degrees were prisoners to

that division of the French army....the various skirmishes between the two armies after they crossed the Inn, added 10,000 prisoners to those who had been before captured. On the 18th, ninth, the Russian army crossed the Donaw to secure their retreat, as the French had constructed a new bridge at Linz, and stationed a body of troops on the right bank of the Donaw ; in the evening of the 19th, tenth, they forced all the advanced posts, and were pursuing the Russians when night obstructed their progress.

On the 20th, eleventh, Mortier marched to Stein, expecting to find the Russian rear-guard only ; but the Russian army maintained its post there, and perceiving the whole extent of the French troops, commenced the battle of Diernstein. Although the difference in numbers was very great, the combat continued from six in the morning until four in the evening, and the Russian superiority was lost in the vigour with which the French repelled their various attacks. The Russians at length carried Leoben, and conscious of the small force of which the French consisted, not above half their own number, by a forced march endeavoured to turn the French by attacking them in the rear ; but Mortier had anticipated the design, and having posted two regiments to interrupt the execution of this manœuvre, the Russians were obliged after a very sanguinary contest to continue their retreat with im-

mense loss, 3,000 Russians were killed or wounded, and 1,300 made prisoners; the French division suffered also very considerably, of three or four of the regiments who were engaged on that day not above one half survived the battle....but the effect was immediate, the Russians were under the necessity of retiring into Moravia without delay....the French army marched into the capital of Germany on the 22d, thirteenth; and on the following day Bonaparte with his staff entered Vienna. This was fulfilling the extraordinary declaration which the emperor of the French made during the latter part of the preceding August:....at one of the levees when the Austrian minister was present, Bonaparte observed, "Your master wants war, does he? Tell him from me, that if he obliges me to go to war, I will sleep in his bed before Christmas!"

When the "six weeks" campaign, as it has been denominated, is duly contemplated, the activity and skill which were manifested by the French emperor are superior to all encomium....the army if it had not been delayed an hour by any opposition, had sufficiently laboured in marching from Boulogne to Vienna, a distance of nearly 1,000 miles in the short space of ten weeks; a dispatch in the execution of military movements unexampled in the history of the world: and as it is without a parallel with respect to itself, so the effects which have been produced by it

are of more importance than any which the European continent has witnessed since the peace of Westphalia.

Whilst the grand army had thus immortalized itself in military annals, the troops under Massena had emulated them in the energy with which they opposed the Austrians, who commanded by the arch-duke Charles, contended for every step, and maintained their positions as long as they were tenable. Previous to the surrender of Ulm, Bonaparte wrote to Massena, "The Austrians continually retire before the grand army; they will be beaten step by step as well as the Russians, if we shall encounter them. I am sorry that our movements and success diminish the number of troops which you combat....there remain less for you to conquer." The news of the emperor's having begun the campaign, and the success which attended all his movements having been conveyed to Massena, he prepared to act upon the offensive, and made arrangements to pass the Etch, which induced the Austrians to retire from Luiniano on the 22d Vendemiaire, October fourteenth; nevertheless they disputed the passage of the river, but without success, as the French division established itself on the opposite bank and secured 700 prisoners with four cannon. The French army was assembled at Zevio, and appeared to be preparing for an attack upon the Austrians through the whole line....this feint confused the



Arch-duke, upon which Massena on the 26th of Vendemiaire, October eighteenth, commenced a battle at the bridge of the old castle at Verona: having destroyed the wall which defended the middle of the bridge by means of a train of powder, Gardanne's division rushed across the bridge, and routed the Austrians who were stationed to impede their progress; the contest continued from four o'clock in the morning until six in the evening, and was supported with great vigour; but the French obliged their opponents to fly from all their positions, and destroyed the intrenchments: several cannon, and 1,400 prisoners were their reward for this victory. Some days elapsed whilst the French crossed the Adige, and arranged the pursuit of the Austrians; but all being ready, Massena ordered Seras to pass the Adige at Polo; Verdier to manœuvre between Ronco and Alabro, whilst Gardanne attacked the heights of the Val Pantere, which forced the Austrians to evacuate Veronetta: in advancing to St. Michael the Austrians in a large body of infantry and cavalry, with several cannon, defended the road, and it was not until after various charges of cavalry that they retreated; these movements had been supported by Molitor who proceeded to St. Martin, and the whole army took position at Vago....The Austrians lost on this day 1,600 prisoners. On the 8th of Brumaire, October thirtieth, the French army assailed the whole

extent of the Austrian line ; Caldiero was carried amidst the shouts of " Long live the emperor !" at half past four in the evening the arch-duke directed his reserve to advance and the combat became exceedingly severe ; the cavalry charged incessantly, and the bayonet decided the day : thirty pieces of well served artillery poured their thunders from the Austrian intrenchments, but notwithstanding the energy with which they resisted the French attack, the Austrians were obliged to retreat with the loss of 3,500 prisoners, and a great number of killed and wounded ; these were so numerous that the two armies consented to a truce whilst the dead were interred : the French troops also being much diminished. The success of the attack at Caldiero joined with the movement made by Seras, separated a corps of 5,000 Austrians, and left them no possibility of retreating through the vallies or uniting with the main army. Whilst they were marching to the heights of St. Leonard, Massena sent an aide-de-camp to summon them to surrender, but the general answered that it was his intention to defend himself ; upon which the whole body were surrounded at the castle of San Felice, and forced to deliver their arms and baggage ; seventy three officers besides the commander were also captured. The arch-duke immediately hastened his retreat, and the French advanced to Montebello.

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On the 14th Brumaire, November fifth, the French pursued the Austrians to Vicenza, whose gates had been walled ; it was summoned, and the troops within refused to evacuate it ; but the passage by that city being indispensable, it was bombarded and the French entered it at break of day. They found a thousand wounded soldiers and a quantity of military stores at their disposal, which the precipitate departure of the Austrians would not permit them to remove. The French army continued its march, and at St. Pierre in Gu, were opposed by a body of Austrians ; but the combat ended in their retreat, having lost 600 prisoners : this afforded the French a clear passage to Castel Franco and Albaredo, whence they marched to the Tagliamento, where the arch-duke waited the approach of the French army. He posted a large body of troops to obstruct the passage of the river, and added 30 pieces of cannon. The French general immediately directed eighteen cannon to be brought to the bank of the river and a cannonade commenced which was continued throughout the day ....in the mean time he had dispatched a large force to pass the river in three different parts to turn the arch-duke's army, but the latter anticipated the design and in the night retreated to Palma Nuova : on the left bank of the river the French found a large number of Austrians who had fallen in the course of the day. The two armies continu-

ed to skirmish hourly; the rear of the Austrians and the advanced guard of the French were so near to each other that they were engaged during the whole of the retreat: they continued their course to Gradiska, the Isonzo and Gorizia....the magazines at Udine and Palma Nuova were left for the French. Whilst these successes attended the principal body of the French army, the prince de Rohan descended from the mountains of the Tyrol to join the arch-duke at Leybach, from whom he had been separated by the rapidity of the French army's march. Massena had dispatched St. Cyr to reconnoitre and oppose the prince: on the 3d Frimaire, November twenty-fourth, Regnier marched to Castel Franco, which rendered the situation of the Austrians very dangerous, the latter therefore commenced a furious attack upon the French division, but they received them with so much skill and courage as to render every charge unavailing: St. Cyr whilst the Austrians were engaged with Regnier in front, assailed their rear, and completely turned them; this induced them to fly, and after perceiving no means of escape, those who had not already surrendered offered to capitulate, and the whole corps delivered their arms to St. Cyr. The prince de Rohan, about thirty officers, 6,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry, six colours, one standard, twelve pieces of cannon, all their baggage and waggon-belongings belonged to the French. The army in-



stantaneously proceeded to Clagenfurth to hasten their junction with the troops under the immediate command of the emperor.

The French troops merely passed through Vienna ; Soult, Davoust, Lasnes and their divisions continued their march into Moravia, and Milhaud after a slight skirmish with a corps who were retreating with an hundred pieces of cannon to join the Russian army, captured the whole, all the provision wag-gons and 600 prisoners ; and an immense quantity of clothes, shoes and boots were found at Stockerau by Lasnes. Vienna being the only arsenal in the emperor of Germany's hereditary dominions, the possession of that city afforded the French, cannon, ammunition, and every kind of military stores and equipage to the full extent of their demands. Bonaparte occupied the palace of Schœnbrun, the residence of the empress of Germany, every apartment of which is decorated with the portrait of the celebrated Maria Theresa. Although in possession of the capital of the German dominions, Bonaparte was aware that his situation was insecure unless he conquered the Russian force which had retired into Moravia : the French troops were therefore in motion, and followed the retreating army with the utmost rapidity. At Hollabrun, Murat encountered part of the Russian army, but a skirmish only ensued as the latter retreated before the contest became serious. The Russian general

now offered to retire from Germany, but Bonaparte would not consent to the terms proposed unless the Russian emperor became a party to the treaty, which finished the conference ; in the mean time the Austrian troops had separated from their allies, and Hungary had submitted to the French division under Davoust. The correspondence between Davoust and the commander of Presburg the chief city of Hungary, demands preservation :

LETTER

*From general Count DE PAFFI.*

GENERAL,

HIS royal highness the arch-duke Palatine, in his quality of supreme, civil and military chief of Hungary, has charged the undersigned to declare, that his royal highness has established along the western frontier of this kingdom, a cordon of troops, supported by small detachments of cavalry, composed of invalids and recruits, with the sole view of arresting the marauders of the Austrian army, who may be found there. It cannot therefore be supposed that he has any hostile views, these detachments having positive orders to retire on the approach of the French troops to the frontiers.

As these small detachments, which should not be considered otherwise than as scouting parties, are to fall back on the approach of the French army, his royal highness has given orders to the hospitals, to the houses of education, to the pensionary officers, and to the individuals employed in arranging the accounts of the regiments and military hospitals, to remain in their places, persuaded that the general or commander of the French troops will not refuse to grant them the necessary protections, and that he will give orders that the detachments of the French army which shall enter Hungary, shall not

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commit any excesses, provided no kind of opposition be made to them....and that in consequence of this declaration, the undersigned will have many important points to discuss with the general or commander of the French troops.

He requests him to grant a meeting on parole in a boat in the middle of the Danube.

He waits his answer and has the honour to be his very humble servant,

*LEOPOLD, count Paffi, commandant at Presburg.*

### ANSWER

*Of Marshal DAVOUST to general Count DE PAFFI.*

GENERAL,

I have laid before his majesty the letter which you addressed to the commandant of my light cavalry. His majesty has charged me to make known through you, to his royal highness the Arch-duke Palatine, that he is ready to respect the neutrality of the Hungarians, and to forbid his army to enter the frontiers of Hungary, if on his part his royal highness the Arch-duke Palatine and the Hungarian people are willing to withdraw their troops, to make no insurrection, to continue to supply Vienna with provisions, and in fine to conclude between them, the Arch-duke Palatine and his majesty the emperor of the French, a convention tending to maintain harmony between the two countries. I am authorised to permit any officer to pass, whom his royal highness the Arch-duke Palatine may wish to send to my sovereign, to treat upon this basis. I shall feel myself happy in thus having an opportunity of doing a favour to your countrymen, and promoting the welfare of a people possessed of so many estimable qualities.

I have the honour to be, M. General,

Your very humble servant,

DAVOUST.

A corps of Austrians had intrenched themselves at Waldemunchen; Baraguay d'Hilliers marched against them, upon which they immediately abandoned their post: having advanced as far as Pilsen in Bohemia and fulfilled the object of his mission, he rejoined the army. Whilst the grand army was hastening into Moravia, Ney was dispatched to the Tyrol: the forts of Scharnitz and Newsturk quickly capitulated to him, 1,800 men and eighteen field pieces belonged to the victors: continuing his march he entered Inspruck, where he found an arsenal filled with artillery, 16,000 muskets and an immense quantity of powder: in Halle, of which he took possession on the same day, large magazines destined for the arch-duke John's army were also secured, but he escaped leaving 200 Austrians sick in the hospital at Inspruck, whom he recommended to the generosity of the French general. During the last war the 76th regiment lost two standards in the Grisons, which were found in the depot at Inspruck; they were instantaneously recognised and surrounded by the soldiers: Ney restored them to that corps with the usual ceremonies; he next occupied Brixen, Clausen and Botzen. At this juncture general Klein was ordered to make an incursion into Bohemia, where he was not opposed in his progress; and on the 23d Brumaire, November fourteenth, the Austrian army of the Voralberg, commanded by field-marshal Jellachich, whose



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retreat had been intercepted, submitted to Augereau, with all their horses, artillery, baggage, ammunition and military stores.

As the two emperors did not sanction the treaty which had been signed by Murat and Kutusow, the Russian army left its position and began to march by Znaim that it might escape without a battle....Murat perceiving this movement, arranged his troops for an attack upon the Russian rear-guard, who made a vigorous but short resistance at Zuntersdroff, but speedily fled with great precipitation, leaving 1,500 prisoners, 100 baggage waggons and twelve pieces of cannon in the possession of the French. But the suddenness of their flight was occasioned by a manœuvre of Lasnes, who charged them in front whilst they were engaged with Murat, and having turned them on the left, Soult assailed them on the right, which induced the corps to hasten their retreat to avoid being entirely surrounded. The head-quarters of the French were removed to Znaim on the 26th Brumaire, November seventeenth, in which town was found an extensive magazine of flour and oats. Sebastiani with a brigade of dragoons harrassed the retreat of the Russians, and on the 27th, eighteenth, conquered several detached corps, amounting in the whole to 1,500 prisoners: Murat entered Brunn on the same day, and the Austrian court retired to Cracow in Poland: in Brunn the French procured sixty pieces of cannon,

6,000 muskets, 300,000lbs. of powder, wheat, flour and clothing in vast quantities.

Whilst pursuing the Russian army in its retreat, and advancing towards Olmutz, the French made a great number of prisoners; and at some distance from Brunn, where the roads meet, 6,000 Russians were posted to obstruct the French troops in their progress to that city: general Walther was directed to attack them without delay, which service he performed with great intrepidity; the Russians perceiving their position to be insecure, retreated and stationed themselves near Olmutz. The victorious army after this skirmish was permitted to retire into quarters, the weather being exceedingly rigorous: the van was supported by Brunn, to which town the head-quarters had been removed. Whilst the grand army were enjoying a little repose, Massena was hurrying to join them, and the arch-duke having heard of the total destruction of the Austrian army at Ulm, had determined to continue his march, to concentrate his force under the walls of Vienna, and to defend that city with the whole of the Austrian and Russian troops; he had therefore in conformity with this plan, collected the scattered divisions of his army, and forced his marches, until he discovered that his movement was futile, and that the French were already in possession of nearly all the Austrian dominions, and that the army under Bonaparte.

was cantoned in Moravia. This obliged him to make new arrangements and to retire to the frontiers of Hungary, where he continued until he was informed of the armistice which had been concluded between Berthier and the prince de Lichtenstein.

On the 6th Frimaire, November twenty-seventh, M. de Stadion and M. count de Guilay were presented to the French emperor, as plenipotentiaries to conclude and sign a definitive treaty of peace between France and Austria: Bonaparte immediately offered an armistice until the former should be arranged; but the emperor of Germany confidently relying upon the support and success of the Russian army, intended it as a feint only, for if he had been serious in his embassy he would not have permitted the Russian troops to have commenced military operations. As soon as it was understood that the French army had discontinued its pursuit of the Russians, and had been quartered in and near Brunn, Kutusow directed the Russian cavalry and the Cossacks to attack the French advanced posts....on the 7th, twenty-eighth, a large body of them surrounded Wischau, of which they took possession and the party of French who defended it, surrendered themselves prisoners. The emperor of Russia advanced to that town on the same day, behind which his whole army encamped. Bonaparte having heard of the arrival of the Russian monarch, dispatched Savary

to compliment him ; that general continued three days at Wischau, which time was employed in investigating the characters of those who attended Alexander. His observations and the report which he made to Bonaparte upon his return, determined him if the allied emperors persisted, to try the fate of a general engagement. With this view he ordered his troops to retreat nine miles in the night, as if he had experienced a total defeat, or as if he were terrified at the vicinity of the Russians, and having chosen the best position which the country afforded, the whole army was engaged in fortifying it and erecting batteries. Bonaparte immediately proposed an interview with the emperor Alexander, who sent his refusal by prince Dolgorouki ; every thing which this officer saw whilst with the French army, the numbers of the guards, the fortifications which were constructing with so much haste, and the appearance of the soldiers indicating timidity, all tended to mislead him ; and he returned to the Russian emperor convinced that the French were aware of their ruinous situation, and that they were already conquered ; and in the Russian council of war it was not inquired by what means the French were to be overcome, but the most certain mode of turning and capturing their whole force. The Austrian generals who were present assured them that it was not so easy an operation to vanquish the French army ; that the officers and troops of which it was



composed were of the first merit, men whose courage was indisputable, and who had been engaged in actual service during the whole revolution; and that their commander possessed resources and expedients which were almost an insuperable obstacle to success, even had he been involved in difficulty....but in the present situation of the armies all the advantages belonged to the French. Notwithstanding this representation the Russian generals confiding in the enthusiasm which Alexander's presence would excite in the Russian army, resolved to endeavour to surround the French and secure them prisoners. Bonaparte was reconnoitring the allied army when Savary returned from his visit to Alexander, and combining every information which he could collect with the Russian emperor's non-compliance with his request, he determined to delay every movement until the Russian general should commit some error, and instantaneously to profit by it.

The two armies remained in this situation until the 10th Frimaire, December first, when Bonaparte perceived from his bivouac the Russian army marching to turn the French right wing; upon which he remarked, "Before to-morrow evening that army will be in my power." The Russian army defiled whilst marching, within pistol shot of some of the French advanced posts, and extended twelve miles before the French troops, who were ordered not to move; and the

Russians were so exhilarated that they were concerned only lest any of their opponents should escape. To encourage this delusion, Murat commanded a small body of cavalry to advance into the plain ; who suddenly returned, as if astonished at the immense force of the Russians. Bonaparte immediately directed this address to be dispersed throughout the camp :

“ SOLDIERS,

“ You see before you the Russian army come to avenge the Austrian army of Ulm. They are the same battalions whom you have beaten at Hollabrun, and whom you have constantly pursued to this place.

“ The positions which we occupy are formidable, and whilst they march to turn my right, they will present me their flank.

“ Soldiers, I shall direct in person all your battalions ; I shall keep far from the fire, if with your accustomed bravery you carry disorder and confusion into the enemy’s ranks ; but if victory be for a moment uncertain, you will see your emperor expose himself to the first charge, for victory cannot hesitate on this day especially, when the honour of the French infantry which imports so much to the character of the whole nation is at stake.

“ Let not your ranks be thinned under pretext of carrying off the wounded, and let each man be well penetrated with the thought, that we must vanquish these pensionaries of England, who are animated with so great a hatred against our nation.

“ This victory will finish our campaign, and we may take up our winter quarters, where we shall be joined by the new armies now forming in France, and then the peace I shall make will be worthy of my people, of you, and of me.

“ NAPOLEON.”

Bonaparte having resolved to seize the favourable opportunity of ruining the Russian army, which the indiscretion and infatuation of his opponents had given him, prepared for a general, decisive and final engagement, and fixed it for the morrow, the anniversary of his coronation: in the evening he disguised himself that he might in person and incognito visit the night guard to prevent any surprize; he had proceeded a short distance only ere he was recognized; this condescension and concern for the safety of his troops excited the utmost enthusiasm in the camp, and the whole army by torch light presented themselves before him as he passed, with unbounded acclamations :....one of the old grenadiers advanced and addressed him; "Sire, "you need not expose yourself. I promise "you in the name of the grenadiers of the "army, that you shall only fight with your "eyes, and that we will bring you to-morrow "the standards and artillery of the Russian "army to celebrate the anniversary of your "coronation." The bivouac in which Bonaparte remained during this night, was a straw hovel without a roof, which the grenadiers had hastily constructed: having returned from his advanced posts, upon his entrance into the hut, he said, "This is the most brilliant evening of my life; but I regret that "I must lose a number of these brave men."

The allied army on this occasion was superior in numbers and cannon to the French,

and elated with their anticipated success, they also determined upon the following day to place all their hopes on a combat, which should decide the fate of the house of Austria, and finish the continental war. The number of soldiers may be computed at 80,000 men in each army, besides the Austrians who had joined their allies; but the park of Russian artillery was considerably greater than that of Bonaparte. Having arranged his movements, he gave orders to make immediate preparations for battle. He dispatched Davoust to the convent of Ragern, with one of his divisions and a body of dragoons, that upon a given signal the whole left corps might be enveloped. Lasnes commanded on the left, Soult on the right, Bernadotte in the centre, and Murat who had assembled all the cavalry in one point, was directed to act as the exigencies of the conflict might require. The former was strengthened by the Santon, a fortified post defended by eighteen pieces of cannon: and the cavalry were supported by twenty-four pieces of light artillery. Legrand guarded the ponds and villages of Sokolnitz and Calnitz, whilst Gudin was ordered to march very early in the morning from Nicholsburg, to intercept any part of the Russian army which might stretch beyond the French right wing. Bonaparte himself, with Berthier, Duroc, Junot, and the staff, was attended by the ten battalions of his guards, and ten battalions



under the command of Oudinot....this body of reserve was drawn up in two lines in columns, accompanied by forty pieces of cannon served by the artillerymen of the guards, and was intended to act where Bonaparte might conceive his own presence necessary to secure success. Every arrangement having been completed, the emperor mounted his horse at one o'clock in the morning of the 11th, second, to re-inspect the posts, to reconnoitre the fires in the Russian camp, and to procure from the guards all the information which they had collected concerning general Kutusow's movements. Whilst Bonaparte was thus actively employed, the Russian troops were buried in profound sleep, the consequence of festivity and tumult excited by inebriety; he was informed however, that a corps of Russian infantry had appeared before the village of Sokolnitz, which induced him to send a strong reinforcement to that post. In this state the armies passed the remainder of the night.

At the dawn of day, Bonaparte was surrounded by all his generals, and continued to give his directions until the sun appeared above the horizon....his last orders were then delivered, and the marshals assumed their stations. To animate the men in the execution of the arduous duty before them, the emperor rode along the front of his army; "Soldiers! We must finish this campaign by a clap of thunder which shall confound the

pride of our enemies." To the 28th of the line he said ; " I hope that the Normans will distinguish themselves to day." And to the 57th, " recollect that it is many years since I surnamed you the Terrible : " these various addresses to the different regiments were answered by rapturous shouts of " Long live the emperor ! " which became the signal to commence the direful, eventful day. At seven o'clock the Russians in four columns marched to the rear of Austerlitz ; and the battle began at the extremity of the French right wing, where the Russian advanced guard had been opposed in its further progress by Davoust : at eight the first column of the Russians descended into the valley, passed through Angest, and forced the French to retire to Zelnitz, where the latter maintained a long and vigorous combat which ended in the overthrow of the Russian division : a short time only elapsed after this movement until the battle became general throughout the whole line ; Soult filed off towards the heights of Pratzen, to deceive the Russian right wing, whilst Murat and Lasnes charged the first column, and though they were received with every degree of coolness and intrepidity, the shock was too great to be withstood, and the disorder of that part of the Russian army was very evident. The cannonade was speedily ordered in both armies, and 200 pieces of cannon vomited their

murderous contents upon the combatants. Not more than an hour subsequent to the beginning of the battle the communication between the centre and left of the Russian army was entirely destroyed, and their right wing had forced its retreat to Austerlitz; upon which the emperor of Russia dispatched his guards to restore the intercourse, who attacked a French battalion with so much fury as to rout them at once; Bonaparte perceiving this movement directed the invincibles to march, which produced one of the most interesting scenes in the battle: on the one side was Bonaparte watching the manœuvres of this corps and waiting for its triumph, and on the other the emperors of Germany and Russia desiring that success should attend their courage; but the attempt to unite the several Russian columns was unpropitious, the guards being obliged to leave the scene and to fly in great disorder: the three emperors were all viewing this part of the battle. When the commander of the artillery which supported the Russian imperial guard had been forced to surrender his pieces, he hastened to the emperor, "Sire," said he, weeping, "let us fight with muskets; I have lost my cannon." "Young man," answered Alexander, "I highly value your tears; my army may be vanquished, but we have a claim to glory." Two bodies of 4,000 Russians each, now surrendered their arms, and thereby contributed very much towards the

event of the day. The wings of the two armies had hitherto been most severely engaged, and for a considerable time with various success....after these corps had surrendered, Bonaparte directed Bernadotte to advance against the Russian centre, which he assailed with so much impetuosity, that the troops began to retire, and general Kutusow found it absolutely necessary to sound a retreat, to preserve the wreck of his army.

This is that scene in the battle which the plate represents; upon the overthrow of the fourth battalion by the Russian imperial guard, Bonaparte A. appears in the foreground, on the heights above Brunn, with twenty pieces of cannon, attended by Berthier, Junot, Duroc, Oudinot, Savary, &c. and in the act of ordering marshal Bessieres M. to assist the right wing with his invincibles, and particularly to oppose the Russian guards. The French artillery which were stationed to cannonade the retreating Russians are designated by B. and C.: immediately before Bonaparte is the French reserve, who had not been engaged in the action. The allied emperors who were posted on the hills above Austerlitz the turret of which appears in the back ground, to observe the progress of the battle, are on the eminence D. with their aides-de-camp, whilst the Russian artillery are exhibited at E. the troops having deserted them to the victors....at the bottom of the hill from which the two empe-



rors are scrutinizing the battle, are the French invincibles by a flank march rushing upon the Russian guards at F. who were endeavouring to re-establish the communication between the battalions of the Russian centre and left wing. This body G. G. was commanded by general Buxhowden, and extended to the town of Gording H. having the ponds L. and villages of Sokolnitz and Calnitz to impede their retreat, and to obstruct their union with the main body of the army...the situation of the former village which had been reinforced early in the morning, and was a strong position, having several powerful batteries, is distinguished by I. the vicinity of which is renowned for the most bloody part of the combat. At this juncture also the centre of the French force commanded by Bernadotte, advances against the Russian centre and completes the rout: the French centre is discovered at K. in the front of the town of Austerlitz, whilst the Russians are displayed by K. in the plain, with the French artillery B. and C. raised above them, and dispersing destruction amongst the discomfited and retreating army.

The cannonade had considerably ceased by one o'clock, and the retreat became general. At this moment Bonaparte advanced to the front of the reserve corps, " I have fought thirty  
" battles similar to this, but I never saw one  
" in which the victory was more decisive, and  
" the event more certain." The foot guards

of the emperor had not been engaged; they were disappointed, and demanded to be permitted to shew their valour: "Rejoice," said Bonaparte, "that you have not been in the action; you are the reserve: and it is so much the better that they do not want you to day." The French emperor directed twenty pieces of cannon to advance, and to keep up an incessant fire against the Russian left, which had been separated from the other columns....general Buxhowden, who commanded it, with some of his officers and a small party of horse had the good fortune to escape the carnage, and rejoined the army, which marched from Austerlitz through Czeitch to Gording on the road to Hungary; whilst prince Bagrathion with the rear-guard covered their retreat by his position before Urschitz. After the action Bonaparte sent Dallemagne to course the field of battle, and to collect all the Russians who remained....he returned with several stands of colours and 1,000 prisoners. The loss of the French in this battle did not exceed 8,000 men, of whom 3,000 were wounded....that of the Russians is incalculable....one general died at the end of the battle; seven were wounded, and fifteen were prisoners....the Russian knapsacks, and an immense quantity of baggage, with a considerable sum of money belonged to the French....the captured cannon amounted to 170, with forty-five stands of colours. If all these circumstances combined, be duly

contemplated, and the proportions between the general officers, standards, cannon and the privates of an army be compared, it cannot be disputed that the Russian army must have been diminished at least one-third, in killed, wounded and prisoners: the two official accounts of the combat are so completely at variance that little dependence can be placed upon either; yet the effects which were produced by the battle of Austerlitz, incontestably prove that the Russian army was at the mercy of the French emperor, and that to his forbearance alone was the remnant indebted for the privilege of revisiting their native country.

The French artillery very essentially contributed to the glory of the day....the general of the staff having related to Bonaparte how much they deserved of him for their conduct in the battle: "Its success gives me pleasure," he replied, "I have not forgotten that it was in this corps I began my military career." In the evening, and for several hours during the night, the French emperor examined the field of battle, and directed that all the wounded should be removed without delay into the moveable hospitals. Although tortured with the agony of their wounds, the mutilated troops seemed for a moment to forget their sufferings in the recollection of this consummately splendid victory, and recognizing their commander, some addressed him, "the victory is certain;" others, "I have

suffered during eight hours, and since the beginning of the battle have been abandoned, but I have performed my duty;" whilst another would tell him, "that he ought to be satisfied with his soldiers for their conduct on that day." The appearance of the army indicated general gaiety, and the most unbounded delight....the officers of the staff and the aides-de-camp were incessantly asked by the soldiers "has the emperor been satisfied with us to-day?"

Thus ended the battle of Austerlitz; a battle which has no parallel in the history of the world, whether we consider the effects which have resulted from it, the character of the parties who were engaged in it, three emperors having headed the contending troops, or the extent of the defeat. That two armies, one of which was certainly inferior to the other, should have experienced in the short space of six hours such a different fate, is unexampled....the ignorance, incapacity, presumption and blindness of the Russian general, are exceeded by the skill, talents, coolness and perspicacity only of the French emperor; and these are not equalled except by the additional power which Bonaparte acquired, and the degradation of his two Imperial brothers.

Upon his return from the field of battle, Bonaparte congratulated his army for the victory which they had obtained, in this address :...



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*“ Head-quarters at Austerlitz, December second,  
ten o'clock at night.*

SOLDIERS OF THE GRAND ARMY,

“ Even at this hour, before this great day shall pass away, and be lost in the ocean of eternity, your emperor must address you, and express how much he is satisfied with the conduct of all those who have had the good fortune to combat in this memorable battle.

“ Soldiers ! You are the first warriors in the world. The recollection of this day, and of your deeds, will be eternal ! Thousands of ages hereafter, as long as the events of the universe continue to be related, will it be told, that a Russian army of 76,000 men, hired by the gold of England, was annihilated by you on the plains of Olmutz. The miserable remains of that army, upon which the commercial spirit of a despicable nation had placed its last hope are in flight, and hasten to make known to the savage inhabitants of the North, what the French are capable of performing ; they will likewise tell them, that after destroying the Austrian army at Ulm, you said to Vienna, “ That army is no more ! ” .... To Petersburg you shall also say, “ The emperor Alexander has no longer an army ! ”

“ Soldiers of the Grand Army ! Four months have not yet elapsed since your emperor spoke thus to you at Boulogne... “ We march to dissolve a coalition formed by the gold and intrigues of England : ” and the result has been the overthrow of 300,000 soldiers, and of two great monarchies.

“ Soldiers ! You are worthy of immortality. What will your relatives ; what will every Frenchman say ? They can never cease to contemplate you with emotions of affection and admiration : and when your work is completed, when you return to your own fire-sides, and to your families, all France will exclaim.... “ These are our brethren, the heroes of Olmutz ;

who out of an army of 76,000 men, made 10,000 prisoners; took 140 pieces of cannon, and left 26,000 men dead on the field.

“Soldiers! You are my children: the events of this day have been worthy of you and of your emperor.

“NAPOLEON.”

At day break on the following morning, additional praise for the battle of Austerlitz, was bestowed by the French Emperor:

“*Austerlitz, 12th Frimaire, December third.*

“SOLDIERS,

“I am satisfied with you....you have in the engagement of Austerlitz justified what I expected from your intrepidity. You have decorated your eagles with immortal glory. An army of 100,000 men commanded by the emperors of Russia and Austria, has been in less than four hours cut to pieces, and dispersed; those who have escaped our swords have been drowned in the lakes.

“Forty pairs of colours, the standards of the imperial guards of Russia, 120 pieces of cannon, 20 generals, and upwards of 30,000 prisoners are the result of this memorable day. This infantry so much boasted and in superior numbers, have not been able to resist your shock, and henceforth you will have no more rivals to dread. Thus in two months, this third coalition has been vanquished and dissolved. Peace can no longer be at a distance; but, as I promised my people before crossing the Rhine, I will make a peace only which shall give us guarantees and secure rewards to our allies.

“Soldiers, when the French people placed the imperial crown on my head, I trusted to you to maintain it for ever in that high splendour of glory, which could alone render it valuable in my eyes. But the same moment our enemies thought of destroying and vilifying it; and this iron crown conquered by the blood of so many Frenchmen, they wished

to oblige me to place on the head of our most cruel enemies ; rash and senseless projects which on the very day of the anniversary of your emperor's coronation, you have annihilated and confounded. You have taught them that it is easier to brave and to threaten, than it is to conquer us.

“ Soldiers, when every thing necessary to insure the happiness and prosperity of our country shall be accomplished, I will conduct you back to France. There you shall be the object of my most tender solicitude. My people will again behold you with joy, and it will be sufficient for you to say, I was at the battle of Austerlitz, for them to answer...that is a brave man.

“ NAPOLEON.”

Prince John de Lichtenstein visited Bonaparte at his head-quarters in a barn very early on the morning of the 12th, third, to propose an interview between the emperors of France and Germany, which was speedily adjusted ; but this did not preclude the French army from enhancing its success : it harrassed the retreat of the Russians, pushed its advanced posts to Olmutz, and on the same day two skirmishes, one between Bagrathion and the advanced guard of the French army at Urschitz, and the other between Davoust and general Meerfelt at Gording, rendered the situation of the Russian army hopeless.... as without artillery or baggage, they were totally surrounded....having neither the ability nor the means to continue their retreat.

The important period which was to establish peace on the European continent having nearly arrived, in the afternoon of the 13th, fourth, Bonaparte left Austerlitz, and

proceeded to his *straw palace* near Sarutchi, where the emperor of Germany soon appeared: their conversation was protracted until two hours had elapsed....they in person agreed to an armistice, and on the principal conditions of peace: the latter requested a truce for the Russian army; Bonaparte observed to him, "That they were entirely surrounded, and that not a man could escape;" "but," added he, "I desire to do that which is agreeable to the emperor Alexander. I will permit the Russian army to pass; I will delay the march of my columns; but your majesty must promise me that the Russian troops shall return to Russia, and evacuate Germany, Austria and Poland." "I can assure you such is the intention of the emperor Alexander," replied the emperor of Germany; "in the course of the night your majesty may convince yourself of it by your own officers." When Bonaparte invited his royal brother to approach to the fire, he said, "I receive you in the only palace which I have inhabited during the past two months." The latter smilingly replied, "Vous tirez si bonne partie de cette habitation, qu'elle doit vous plaire." "You derive so much advantage from this hut that it ought to please you." The prince de Lichtenstein and prince Schwarzenberg having been presented to Bonaparte, the monarchs separated....Bonaparte attended the



German emperor to his carriage, and immediately returned to Austerlitz.

General Savary accompanied the emperor of Germany after the interview, to ascertain whether Alexander would accede to the capitulation and to the terms of the armistice which the two emperors had concluded. Prince Czatorinsky introduced general Savary, who conversed an hour with the emperor of Russia. This monarch asked the detail of the day: "You were inferior to me," said he, "and nevertheless superior in all the points of attack." "Sire," answered general Savary, "it is the art of war, and the fruit of fifteen years glory; it is the fortieth battle of the emperor." "This is true; he is a great warrior: for my part, it is the first time I have seen fire; I never shall have the pretensions to meet him in the field." "Sire, when you have gained experience, you may perhaps surpass him." "Say to your master," cried the prince, "I will go; he has this day performed miracles; this day has completed my admiration of him. I will return to my capital: I came to assist the emperor of Germany; he says he is satisfied; so am I. May I retire with safety?" "Yes, sir," answered general Savary, "if your majesty will ratify that which the emperors of France and Germany fixed at their interview." "What is that?" "That the Russian army should return home by the rout fixed by the emperor, and that

“ it should evacuate Germany and Austrian  
 “ Poland. Upon this condition, I have or-  
 “ ders from the emperor to go to our advan-  
 “ ced posts who have surrounded you, and  
 “ to protect your retreat ; the emperor wishes  
 “ to respect the friend of the first consul.”  
 “ What guarantee must I give for this ?”  
 “ Sire, your word.” “ I give it.” Savary  
 departed, quickly rode to marshal Davoust,  
 and gave him directions to desist from all mi-  
 litary movements.

On the 14th, sixth, the armistice was sign-  
 ed by Berthier and the prince de Lichtenstein.  
 By this convention the whole of the Austrian  
 states continued in the possession of the  
 French army until the treaty of peace should  
 be signed....the Russians were to evacuate the  
 Austrian dominions in the course of a month,  
 and no levies were to be raised or foreign troops  
 “ permitted to enter the territory of the house  
 of Austria.” General Valhuber died of his  
 wounds on the 15th, seventh ; about an hour  
 before his death he sent a letter to Bonaparte :  
 “ I wished to have done more for you ;” said  
 he, “ in one hour I shall be no more ; I re-  
 gret it not, since I have participated in a vic-  
 tory which assures to you a happy reign.  
 When you shall think of those brave men,  
 who devoted themselves to you, remember  
 me. It is enough for me to mention to you  
 that I have a family, I need not recommend  
 it to your protection.” In conformity with  
 the tenour of the armistice, the Russian army

began its march in three columns on the 16th, eighth; the first returned by Cracovia and Therespal; the emperor and duke Constantine at its head, travelled post to St. Petersburg; the second column marched by Kaschaw, Lemberg and Bredi, and the third by Cirsirau, Watrell and Husiatin. On the same day, Bonaparte informed prince Repnin, who was a prisoner, that he was at full liberty to collect all the troops of the Russian imperial guard who had been captured, and to return with them into Russia.

At the time when Bonaparte was increasing the splendour of his own character as a general, his power received much diminution from the naval combat at Trafalgar, which occurred on the 21st of October: Nelson, who held the highest rank among sailors, commanded the British ships upon this occasion; the combined French and Spanish fleets consisted of 43 sail, whilst the English fleet was several hundred guns inferior to its opponents, who were directed by Villeneuve and Gravina. The action commenced at 12 o'clock; it was maintained with great spirit, and the conflict was uncommonly severe: not very long after the beginning of this tremendous battle, Nelson, who was standing on the quarter-deck of the Victory, received a shot which deprived him of life at forty minutes after four o'clock, at which time the triumph was complete, nineteen French and Spanish ships having surrendered to the Eng-

lish....but a terrible gale which continued during three days hindered the British from retaining possession of the captured vessels : some were destroyed on the shore, others were sunk by the victorious fleet, whilst a few disabled, with the English who had been appointed to manage them, rolled into Cadiz. This contest was one of the most important events of the present war, and its effects were very great....it deprived the French emperor of a considerable proportion of his maritime force, and delayed the completion of his designs in the Mediterranean. A very remarkable circumstance has attended this combat....the English admiral died during the engagement, the Spanish commander survived a short time only, and the French admiral departed this life on his return home.

The town of Nicholsburg will be celebrated in all succeeding ages, as in its castle were assembled M. Talleyrand, the prince de Lichtenstein, and the count de Guilai, to arrange a definitive treaty of peace ; the terms of which being finally adjusted, it was signed at Presburg on the twenty-sixth of December, and Bonaparte who continued at Schœnbrun ratified it on the following day. By this treaty, royal honours were confirmed to the elector of Bavaria, and the duke of Wirtemberg, and large portions of the Austrian territory delivered to them to enable them suitably to maintain their new dignity. The emperor of Austria renounced the Ve-



netian states to the French, and admitted their junction with the kingdom of Italy, and a short time was stipulated to include the return of the victorious army to its own country....Braunau, however, as the depot of the army, and as the hospital of the sick, remained in the possession of the French until their property, &c. could be removed.

Bonaparte notified the peace to his soldiers, by an address:....

“ SOLDIERS,

“ Peace between me and the emperor of Austria is signed. You have in this late season of the year made two campaigns; you have performed every thing which I expected from you. I am setting out to return to my capital. I have promoted and distributed rewards to those who have distinguished themselves most; I will perform to you every thing which I have promised. You have seen that your emperor has shared with you all dangers and fatigues; you shall likewise see him surrounded with all that grandeur and splendour which becomes the sovereign of the first nation in the world. In the beginning of the month of May I will give a grand festival at Paris; you shall all be there, and we shall there see whether we are called by the happiness of our country and the interests of our glory.

“ Soldiers, during the three months which are necessary for your return to France, be the example of all armies. You have now to give examples not of your courage and intrepidity, but of strict discipline....may my allies no more have to complain of your behaviour! Conduct yourselves, on your arrival in that territory, like children in the bosom of their family. My people will conduct themselves towards you, as they must ever do towards their heroes and their defenders.

“ Soldiers, the thought that I shall see you all in less than

half a year assembled round my palace, is pleasing to my heart; and I feel before hand the most delightful emotions. We will celebrate the memory of those, who in these two campaigns have fallen in the field of honour. The world shall see that we are ready to follow their example, and if necessary, to do still more than we have done against those who attack our honour, or suffer themselves to be misled by the gold of the eternal enemy of the continent.

“ NAPOLEON.”

The French armies being liberated in Germany, Bonaparte resolved to add the kingdom of Naples to his other Italian possessions; and having a pretext for his conduct in the duplicity which its court had exhibited, he dispatched St. Cyr to conquer the Neapolitan territories, and published his reasons in this proclamation:....

“ *From my Imperial Camp at Schœnbrunn,  
December twenty-seventh.*

“ Soldiers! For ten years I have done all which I could to save the king of Naples: he has done every thing in his power to destroy himself.

“ After the battles of Dego, of Mondovi, and of Lodi, he could give me no effectual opposition. I placed confidence in the word of this prince, and I behaved with generosity towards him.

“ When the second coalition was dissolved at Marengo, the king of Naples who was the first to commence that unjust war, abandoned at Luneville by his allies, remained alone, and without protection. He solicited my pardon, and I forgave him a second time.

“ A few weeks ago you were at the gates of Naples. I had sufficient reason to suspect the treachery which was intended,

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and to avenge the insults which I had received, still I was generous. I acknowledged the neutrality of Naples ; I ordered you to evacuate that kingdom, and for the third time, the house of Naples was confirmed and saved.

“ Shall we grant pardon for a fourth time ? Shall we, for a fourth time, place any confidence in a court without truth, honour or common sense ! No ! No ! The Neapolitan dynasty has ceased to reign ; its existence is incompatible with the repose of Europe, and the honour of our crown.

“ Soldiers ! March, drive into the sea, if they will wait your attack, those feeble battalions of the tyrants of the seas. Shew to the world the manner in which we punish the perjured. Lose no time in informing me, that the *whole* of Italy is subject to my laws or those of my allies ; that the finest country of the world is emancipated from the yoke of the most perfidious of men ; that the sacredness of treaties is avenged, and that the *manes* of my brave soldiers, who were massacred in the ports of Sicily, on their return from Egypt, after having escaped from the dangers of the sea, the deserts, and a hundred battles, are at length appeased.

“ Soldiers ! My brother will lead you on ; he is acquainted with all my plans ; he is the depository of my authority ; he is in full possession of my confidence ; let him have yours.

“ NAPOLEON.”

The peace of the continent having been finally arranged, with the exception of the march of the French troops into Naples, Bonaparte left Schœnbrunn, in which he had continued to reside until the ratification of the treaty. Previous to his departure from Vienna, he ordered his farewell address to be distributed throughout the city ; in which he thanked them for their orderly behaviour, whilst the capital was in possession of his

troops, and delivered to them the greater part of the arsenal: the contribution which the Austrian states raised for the French army, amounted to £.1,250,000 sterling. The French emperor, attended by Murat and Duroc, returned by Passau, and on the twenty-ninth of December, entered Munich. On the first of January 1806, the elector Palatine, and the duke of Wirtemberg were proclaimed....the former, king of Bavaria at Munich, the latter, king of Suabia at Stutgard. Bonaparte gave to the former a large quantity of cannon, which had been captured by the Austrians about an 100 years since ....these were removed from the arsenal at Vienna, and introduced into the capital with great solemnity. Bonaparte continued in this city until the latter end of January, during which interval, on the fifteenth, he married prince Eugene, his wife's son, viceroy and the adopted king of Italy, to Augusta, daughter of the king of Bavaria. The French troops now began to retire from Austria, and many of them marched into Italy. Bonaparte accompanied by the empress, arrived at Paris on January the twenty-seventh, and on the following day received the congratulations of the constituted authorities in great pomp.

Since the battle of Austerlitz, the situation of the European continent has been entirely changed. One of Bonaparte's brothers, Joseph, is king of Naples; another, Louis,



is king of Holland ; Murat is elevated to the Duchy of Berg and Cleves, &c. &c. Thus it appears probable that the Bonaparte dynasty of potentates is as firmly established as any of the ancient European hereditary monarchies.

## *ADDENDA.*

This chapter contains a variety of detached anecdotes, letters and other incidents, all of which are necessary to be remembered when we would make a due estimate of the character of Bonaparte.

While at school Bonaparte thanked his mother in one of his letters, for her great care about his future advancement, he says, "With my sword by my side, and my Homer in my pocket, I hope to find my way through the world."

When with his regiment, the castle of a certain nobleman in the vicinity of Grenoble was attacked by a body of armed and irritated peasants; Bonaparte was sent with a small force to defend it. On his arrival he saw that the noble owner of the castle was in imminent danger of being murdered; he therefore contrived immediately to secrete him, and then addressed himself to the victors in nearly the following terms: "Are

you Frenchmen," said he; this question touched them. "What? Are you Frenchmen and without generosity? No Frenchman will ever persecute a fallen enemy." These words disarmed them, and Bonaparte by this means saved the unfortunate object of their hatred and vengeance.

In his first Italian campaign, Bonaparte wrote the following letter to the celebrated Oriani, whom he invited to visit him.

"The pursuits of knowledge which do honour to the human understanding, the arts which adorn life, and hand down the memory of great exploits to posterity, must ever obtain respect in all free governments. All men of genius, all who hold a distinguished rank in the republic of letters are Frenchmen, be they of what country they may. Men of learning in Milan have never obtained the regard which they deserved; living retired in their studies and laboratories, they thought themselves fortunate if they were not persecuted by kings and priests; but this will be no more so; freedom of thought is naturalized in Italy, and it will allow no more inquisition, no more intolerance, no more despotism. I invite all men of letters to impart to me their ideas as to the method by which arts and knowledge may be revived. All learned men who choose to visit France will be received by the government with the utmost regard. A great mathematician, a celebrated painter, or a man of merit in any line, is a more valuable acquisition to France than the richest conquest. I request that you will make these sentiments known in Milan, to all men of distinguished talents or superior merit."

An incident which occurred at the battle of Castiglione, proves that Bonaparte is not devoid of strong sensibility. At the mo-

ment when the ranks of the imperialists were broken, and the heat of the pursuit was in proportion to the obstinacy of the contest, Bonaparte coming up to the spot where the thickest of the combat had taken place, where French and Austrians lay strewed in horrible profusion, perceived one living object amidst those piles of corpses, which was a little barbet-dog. The faithful creature stood with his two fore-feet fixed on the breast of an Austrian officer; his long ears hung over his eyes, which were rivetted on those of his dead master. Bonaparte, struck with the piteous spectacle, stopped his horse, called his attendants around him, and pointed out the subject of his speculation. "The dog," says Bonaparte, "as if he had known my voice, removed his eyes from his master, and throwing them on me for a moment, resumed his former posture; but in that momentary look there was a mute eloquence beyond the power of language; it was reproach with all the poignancy of bitterness." He gave orders to stop instantly the pursuit and carnage.

The French troops having taken possession of Bologna, a lady of that city, seized with a sudden panic for her safety, dismissed from her house a French priest whom she had many years maintained. The poor man, finding himself friendless and forsaken, betook himself to Bonaparte. "General," said he, "I am come to ask a favour of you."



“What is it?” replied Bonaparte. “That you will suffer me to be shot at the outside of your camp.” “What induces you,” said the general, “to make so singular a request?” “I am a poor, forlorn, and wretched priest,” said he, “who had no other dwelling but in the house of a benefactress, and she took it into her head that after the arrival of the French army it was no longer safe for her to keep me, and now I have nothing left but to die, but I can patiently endure my lot.” “Go,” said Bonaparte, “to the lady, and tell her from me, that you shall henceforth be her security.”

Bonaparte is remarkable for a sort of keen sarcastic point, bordering upon indifference, which gives considerable force, in many instances, to his replies. A soldier, during this campaign, came up to him with a ragged coat and asked for a new one. “Oh no,” said he, “that will never do, it will hinder your wounds from being seen.”

During the campaign in Italy, the general always carried with him a small travelling library, which consisted of Cæsar’s Commentaries, Xenophon, Polybius with Folard’s notes, and the campaigns of Montecuculi: he had also many maps, charts, and drafts, from the royal library at Paris; but his favourite study was Ossian’s Poems.

Whilst Bonaparte was pursuing his victorious course, he had scarcely time to think of his relations. His mother lived at Toulon,

and his brother Joseph was engaged in trade at the same place; but he soon determined to quit it and endeavour to profit by the good fortune of his brother; accordingly he applied to his relation Salicetti, who gave him a good office in the commissary department. When Bonaparte heard of this he sent for him and asked him if he wanted money. "If you do," said he, "tell me, and you shall be welcome to the half of my purse; but I must request you to give up your place immediately and leave the army, for I will never have it laid to my charge that I have used my influence improperly to provide for my family. Return to Toulon, and there you may be always sure of advancing yourself by trade."

Among the Austrian prisoners on the surrender of Mantua, Bonaparte heard the name of Montecuculi, and he asked the officer who bore it, whether he was a descendent of the great general of that name, to which he answered in the affirmative:.... "You have shewn yourself worthy of him," replied Bonaparte, and immediately gave him his liberty.

About this time the general procured the release of La Fayette and his companions from the dungeons of Olmutz.

To gain the affections of the people, Bonaparte has always endeavoured to conciliate the clergy, for though he has done all in his

power to weaken their influence as a body, he has every where availed himself of the efforts of individuals: to the military his conduct has been exactly the reverse, he has been regardless of giving any offence to individuals, but constantly, as a body, courted their support. His letter to the arch-bishop of Genoa is one amongst many other proofs of his policy towards the clergy :....

“ *CITIZEN,*

“ I have just received your pastoral letter, in which I almost recognize one of the twelve apostles. It was thus, without doubt, that St. Paul wrote. How respectable does religion appear when it has such ministers as you are ; for you are a true apostle, an evangelical apostle ; you obtain the esteem even of your enemies. How comes it that the clergy of your diocese are animated by so different a spirit ? Jesus Christ sought to act by means of conviction, and he chose rather to die than to employ violence in the propagation of his doctrine. Wicked priests preach only revolution and bloodshed ; like Judas they sell their people. I hope soon to be in Genoa, where it will give me the greatest pleasure to converse with you. Bishops like Fenelon....like the arch-bishops of Milan, Ravenna and Genoa, make religion more amiable ; they not only preach virtue, but practise it. A good bishop is the best gift which heaven can give to any city or country on earth.

“ *BONAPARTE.*”

Bonaparte after the conclusion of the peace at Rastadt, left Italy with the simple equipage of a private gentleman, attended by two generals only, two aides-de-camp, a secretary and a physician. At Geneva he dined with the French resident, and having

been expected for some time, relays of horses were waiting for him on the road, and immense crowds of people were in earnest expectation to behold him. At Mondon, where he slept the night before, he had been received with great honours by the celebrated colonel Weiss, the bailiff of the place, a man well known by his political and philosophical writings, by his zeal for liberty and admiration of Bonaparte. Near Avenche his carriage broke down, and he was obliged to walk for some miles. One among the crowd of spectators who had assembled to see him thus speaks of him :....“ I had an opportunity of being very near to him, and he appeared to me always to be talking to those around him as if he were thinking about something else: he has the mark of great sense in his countenance, and an air of profound meditation which reveals nothing that is passing within him; he seems constantly big with deep thought, which will some day or other influence the destinies of Europe.” A burgess of Morat observed with astonishment the figure of the general. “ How small a stature for so great a man,” said he, loud enough to be heard by one of the aides-de-camp. “ He is exactly the height of Alexander,” said some one. “ Yes,” replied the aide-de-camp, “ and that is not the only trait of resemblance.” He left Geneva on the twenty-second of November in the evening, and arrived the next



night at Berne. At Faubroun, a small village nine miles from Berne, he supped with a large party who had from curiosity and respect accompanied his train; after which he went on to Soleure. All the towns through which he passed in the night were illuminated. At Basle he stopped some hours, walked round the town, and received a long and flattering address from the burgo-master. In passing through Lausanne they had prepared a grand fete for him, which he did not appear to enjoy: three citizens stopped his carriage and presented to him three young ladies, who repeated some fine complimentary verses; an immense crowd assembled around him, and testified great joy by their shouts and acclamations. He thanked them with great good humour; but appeared indeed every where to shew a profound contempt for popular opinion and popular applause. He spoke very little to strangers through his whole journey, and seemed to be sensible that every word which he said would be noted.

The government of Berne had sent a deputy to him at Milan, who accompanied him on his journey and had a son with him, a boy about thirteen years old, and of very quick parts, much above his age. Bonaparte seemed always very fond of talking to him. He found him one day with a map of Switzerland. "What are you looking at there?" said the general. "Some parts of my own

country which I am not acquainted with," replied the youth. "Do you know that part?" said Bonaparte, pointing to Porentrui. "That does not belong to us," replied the youth. "We mean to give it you," returned the general. "And what do you mean to ask in exchange?" said the boy. "Nothing," said Bonaparte, "we will make you a present of it." "Nothing?" returned the youth thoughtfully, "Ah! *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.*" Bonaparte immediately threw his arms about him in a rapture, and said to his father, "Take care of this boy's education; he will be no common man some day or other."

When he came near to the little village of Faubroun, which is surrounded with thick fir trees, he left his carriage and walked to the inn, humming the tune of "*Paisible bois.*" He talked very freely to the landlord, and asked him if he paid any taxes? "No," said the man, "we hardly know what they are." "Have you no land of your own?" "Yes, about fifty pounds a year." "Do you pay no taxes for that?" "Yes, the tythes and quit rent, which are no more than the annual wages of one of my husbandmen; I reckoned that in the expence of working my land, and I paid for it accordingly." "Does your government levy no tax upon the land?" "None." "How then does it pay its expences?" "With the produce of its domains, which is not only sufficient for the

purpose, but leaves a balance every year.” “You are very well satisfied with your government then I suppose?” “And so I ought to be,” replied the landlord, “with a government which does great good to the poor and no harm to the rich.” “If all this be true,” said Bonaparte, turning to one of his officers, “these are the happiest people in the world.” “Aye,” said the inn-keeper, “and I wish all people were equally so.”

Bonaparte, after his arrival at Paris, shunned every opportunity of being noticed: he lived in a small house and retired street; received very little company; avoided all crowded places, and never travelled but in a plain carriage with two horses: he dined sometimes with the different ministers of state, and never appeared but twice at any public meeting.

The ceremony of his presentation to the directory was attended with every degree of splendour and parade. The great court of the Luxembourg was the place chosen for this superb spectacle; it was covered with an extensive awning, and the walls were decorated with hangings of the national colours and military trophies; at one end was an altar surmounted with statues of liberty, equality and peace, and ornamented with the different standards which had been captured from the enemy; on each side of the altar were seats in a semi-circular form, composing a vast amphitheatre, and destined for the con-

stituted authorities and the conservatory of music; from the walls were suspended the colours of the different armies of the republic; an immense crowd lined the court and windows of the palace, and all the neighbouring streets were filled with those who could not gain admittance within; the air perpetually resounded with their acclamations and shouts of joy. At twelve o'clock at noon the sound of cannon announced the commencement of the fete, and the procession, which consisted of the directory, the ministers of state and constituted authorities, began to move from their different places of meeting towards the Luxembourg; after they had arrived and were all seated, the president of the directory gave orders to inform the foreign ministers, the minister of war, and the generals Bonaparte, Joubert and Andreossi, that the directory were ready to receive them. The musick began a beautiful symphony, which was soon interrupted by the sound of repeated shouts rending the air with "Long live the republick,"...."Long live Bonaparte,"...."Long live the great nation." The noise continued to increase, the crowd kept pressing forward, every eye sparkled with expectation and curiosity, and turned towards the great door: *Bonaparte entered*, the enthusiasm of the people was at its height, not a single person was silent, but all cried out with one impulse and with one accord, "The deliverer of Italy,"...."The pacificator of the



continent." Bonaparte came forward with calmness and dignity: he was accompanied by the minister of foreign relations, the minister of war and his aides-de-camp; the musick played the hymn to liberty, and every one stood up uncovered. When he had arrived at the steps of the altar he was presented to the directory by Talleyrand, in a speech suited to the occasion; after it was finished, all seemed eager to hear the conqueror of Italy, the simplicity and modesty of whose appearance formed a fine contrast to the grandeur of his situation, and every one figured him at the bridge of Lodi, at Arcola, or at Campo Formio. A profound silence immediately ensued whilst the great negociator presented to the president of the directory the emperor's ratification of the treaty, and spoke as follows :....

" *CITIZENS DIRECTORS,*

" The French people, in order to be free, had to combat with kings; to obtain a constitution founded upon reason, they had to vanquish the prejudices of eighteen centuries. The constitution of the third year and you, have triumphed over all obstacles. Religion, feudality and royalty have successively governed Europe, but the peace which you have concluded forms the æra of representative governments. You have organized the great nation whose vast territory is circumscribed by the limits only which nature herself hath placed. You have done more. The two most beautiful parts of Europe, formerly so celebrated for the arts, the sciences, and the great men whom they produced, see with renovated hope the genius of liberty rising from the tombs of their ancestors. These are the two pedestals on which the destinies have plac-

ed other nations. I have the honour to present the treaty signed at Campo Formio, and ratified by his Imperial majesty. Peace gives the earnest of liberty, prosperity and glory to the republick. When the happiness of the French people shall rest on well-formed organick laws, all Europe will become free."

The hero had scarcely finished when shouts of acclamation on all sides seemed to reach the clouds. "Long live the republick".... "Long live Bonaparte," were the general cry. The president answered him in a very long speech, and afterwards gave him the fraternal embrace, in which he was followed by the other members of the directory: this was witnessed with great emotion by all present. Bonaparte descended from the altar, and the minister of foreign relations conducted him to an arm chair which was prepared for him before the diplomatick body. The conservatory of musick then performed the Chant du Retour, the words by Chenier and the musick by Mehul. The other generals were next presented, and received and returned addresses suitable to the occasion; after which they took their different seats prepared for them in front of Bonaparte, and the musick played the Chant du Depart. The directors then dissolved the sitting, and returned to their palace with the rest of the procession in the same order in which they came. The spectators saluted Bonaparte with similar applause at his departure as

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upon his entrance. A magnificent dinner was given at the Luxembourg to the general and an immense number of civil and military officers: the evening concluded with a ball at the house of the minister of the interior.

On his arrival off Malta he sent this letter to the bishop :....

“ TO THE BISHOP OF MALTA.

“ I have learnt with sincere pleasure, good Mr. Bishop, the kind conduct and reception which you have shewn to the French troops. You may assure the people of your diocese that the catholick, apostolick and Roman religion shall not only be treated with regard, but its ministers especially protected. I know no character more respectable, or more worthy of veneration, than a priest who, inspired by the true spirit of the gospel, is persuaded that his duty ordains him to render unfeigned obedience to the temporal power, to maintain peace, tranquillity and union in his diocese. I request you immediately to repair to the town of Malta, and to preserve, by your influence there, harmony and tranquillity among the people. I myself shall be there this evening. I request also, that upon my arrival you will introduce to me all the priests and other chiefs belonging to Malta and the surrounding villages. Be assured of the desire which I have to prove to you the esteem and consideration which I have for you personally.”

The sympathetic letter which Bonaparte sent to the widow of admiral Brueys, who died in the battle of the Nile, is a most beautiful specimen of epistolary composition :....

“ Your husband was killed by a cannon ball whilst fighting nobly for his country : he died without suffering for a moment, and his death is envied by all good soldiers. I feel sincerely for what you must suffer. The moment which separates us

from the person whom we love is terrible ; it insulates us from every thing around us, and causes convulsions of agony : the faculties of the soul are almost annihilated, and we hardly preserve any connection with the world but in a dream. Men appear to us more cold, more selfish, more wicked, and more odious than they really are. We think in this situation, that if there was nothing which compelled us to live, it were better for us to die ; but after these first emotions, when we press our infants to our breast, tears and sentiments of tenderness awaken nature within us, and we live again for our children. Yes, madam, let me advise you to see them instantly ; let them soften your heart to the tender impressions of melancholy ; you will weep over them, you will watch over their infancy and cultivate their youth ; you will speak to them of their father, of your own sufferings, and of the loss which they and their country have sustained. After having thus re-attached yourself to the world by filial and maternal love, endeavour to set some value upon the lively interest which I shall never fail to take in all that concerns the widow of my friend. Be satisfied that there are at least some men in the world, how few soever they may be, who deserve to be considered as the only hope of the wretched, because they feel for their sufferings with sensibility.

“ BONAPARTE.”

At the commencement of his last campaign in Italy, Bonaparte evinced the most tender regard for the memory of Virgil ...he wrote to the commandant of Mantua: “ The people of the village of Andes, in which Virgil was born, shall on that account be exempted from all contributions ; and you will take care that all the losses which they have sustained during the siege of Mantua shall be repaid.”

The poissards have been from time imme-



morial accustomed upon any great and fortunate event to send a deputation of their sisterhood to the kings and ministers of France, and since the revolution to the various rulers of the republick, to offer their congratulations, accompanied by a large bouquet of flowers. Upon the elevation of Bonaparte to the supreme authority of France, according to custom, they sent a select number from their body to present him with their good wishes, and usual fragrant donation. The first consul sternly received them, and after rejecting their nosegay, commanded them to retire, and in future to attend to their husbands, their children and their fisheries, and never more to attempt an interference in matters relating to the state. Upon which he ordered the pages in waiting to close the door upon them.

These formidable dames, so celebrated for their ferocity, retired, chagrined and chapp-fallen, from the presence of the imperious consul, and have not attempted to force either their congratulations or their bouquets upon any of the public functionaries since that period.

The following anecdote is related in the language of the Frenchman who published it in Wilson's expedition :....

“ Bonaparte, notwithstanding his successes and fame, was considered by those who knew him best, as not in himself possessing the great qualities ascribed to him. We regarded him as indebted more to an extraordinary peculiar good fortune,

forcing irresistible circumstances to his advantage, than to his own abilities and exertions. After his repulse at Acre, our opinion was confirmed, and we expected to see him return dejected, conscious of disgrace, his shame aggravated by the recollection of his having sent a messenger with a dispatch, and which was read in the Institute, in which he expressed himself, "In three days I shall be in Acre; when you open this, be assured that Djazzar Pacha is no more."—The day before he entered Cairo, we received orders, to our astonishment, to prepare illuminations, triumphal arches, &c. in honour of the conquerors of Syria and of Djazzar Pacha. The troops, who had despondingly anticipated a different reception, whose murmurs against the man who had planned their expedition amounted to mutiny, whose expressions even menaced death to him as an atonement for their seven thousand comrades who had perished, saw with surprise the honours paid to them; heard their chief and themselves styled conquerors; and, in the delirium of vanity, forgot their injuries. The next morning Bonaparte, assured of the intoxication still continuing, assembled his army on parade, distributed rewards, then moved forwards a battalion of grenadiers, whom he upbraided with having refused to make another assault on Acre, and sentenced them to carry their arms slung behind till their character was retrieved. It was then we pronounced Bonaparte really a great man. We confessed his knowledge of human nature, who in a few hours could so improve his situation and re-assume his influence, as to disgrace those very men, who the day before would, with the applause of their comrades, had he uttered a word of censure, have instantly assassinated him."

There are three charges alledged against Bonaparte by his enemies, which it would be improper not to notice; all of them having the same object, to prove, that as he is the most powerful, so he is the most barbarous, cruel

and unfeeling of the human race : the first charge is thus stated :....

“ That he buried alive the dying and the wounded after the battle of Salo ; he commanded all who were deemed no longer fit for service, to be thrown into the waggons among the dead, and there either strangled or suffocated ; but in spite of this precaution, the waggons seldom arrived at the burying ground without sending forth the cries and groans of those who were about to be buried alive ; they were conveyed to an immense pit for the purpose, and immediately covered with five loads of quick lime, which, thrown in upon their green wounds, occasioned such exquisite pain, that the rector of Salo positively died of the horror with which he was seized upon hearing their cries. They were at length, however, completely covered with earth.”

This allegation rests entirely upon an anonymous letter, said to have been written by a French officer who had been wounded in the battle of Arcola, and was published by Peltier : but it is impossible that such a crime could have been committed ; for the soldiers whom he commanded would not have retained their enthusiastick attachment to such a general, and afterwards have accompanied him to Egypt. The only English author who has mentioned the fact, although he manifests every desire to believe it, admits that it wants confirmation ; it must therefore be denominated *an audacious falsehood*.

The second and third charges are from Wilson's expedition to Egypt, who affirms that Bonaparte on the third day after the surrender of Jaffa, ordered 3,800 prisoners

whom he had captured in battle, to be murdered in the vicinity of that town :....

“ Bonaparte had in person inspected the whole body, amounting to near 5,000 men, with the object of saving those who belonged to the towns which he was preparing to attack. The aged and noble physiognomy of a veteran Janissary attracted his observation, and he asked him sharply, “ Old man, what do you do here ?” The Janissary undaunted, replied, “ I must answer that question by asking you the same ; your answer will be, that you came to serve your Sultan ; so did I mine.” The intrepid frankness of the reply excited universal interest in his favour. Bonaparte even smiled. “ He is saved,” whispered some of the aides-de-camp. “ You know not Bonaparte,” observed one that served with him in Italy, “ that smile, I speak from experience, does not proceed from the sentiment of benevolence, remember what I say.” The opinion was true. The Janissary was left in the ranks, doomed to death, and suffered.”

He next asserts that Bonaparte, by ordering opium to be administered in the food which was given to the sick, poisoned 580 of his own soldiers ; and that after the return of Bonaparte from Syria, the physician who had refused to mix the opium charged him in the sitting of the institute with this atrocity, and added that he had directed a number of French and Copts, ill of the plague at Rosetta, to be strangled.

“ Bonaparte pleaded that he had ordered the garrison to be destroyed, because he had not provisions to maintain them, or strength enough to guard them ; and that it was evident if they escaped, they would act against the French, since amongst the prisoners were 580 of the garrison of El Arisch, who had promised not to serve again, and that he destroyed the sick to



prevent contagion, and to save them from falling into the hands of the Turks."

The truth of these charges depends upon the credibility of Sir Robert Wilson alone; and if the former should be admitted as fact, a short elucidation may place the circumstance in its proper point of view. It should be remembered however, that the garrison were summoned to lay down their arms; that they were the same troops whom Bonaparte had already liberated, upon condition of not serving against the French; that they were a faithless sanguinary banditti, who, if the general had dismissed them, would have again been found in arms against him; and that Berthier's narrative states that they were slain during the assault. Passing over this incontrovertible evidence, it is proper to shew that Bonaparte is justified by law and by *British* examples.

The conduct of Edward III. at the siege of Calais, and when the town offered to surrender, is familiar to every person in the least acquainted with history: nevertheless his barbarity is obliterated. After the battle of Agincourt, when Henry V. was receiving the congratulations of his nobles, it was reported that his camp was attacked; a small party of French was endeavouring to plunder the baggage....they were surrounded by the English, and Henry ordered them to be immediately dispatched. At the siege of Rouen, which was defended by the inhabitants with the ut-

most obstinacy, the same monarch erected gibbets around the city, and regularly hung all his prisoners. To preserve the stock of provisions, 12,000 useless persons were dismissed from the city; who were refused a passage through the British camp, and were driven back to the ramparts, where they remained exposed to all the miseries of want, the inclemency of the weather, and the balls and arrows of the besiegers and the citizens. Having consented to the terms upon which they would surrender, Henry, as soon as the number to be immolated were delivered to him, ordered the immediate execution of Alain Blanchard, through whose efforts the city had been excited so long to resist the English army. But to recur to our own times: Nelson during the attack upon Copenhagen, captured some floating batteries, with a considerable number of prisoners; as his situation was not very safe, he wrote to the prince of Denmark the following note: “ Lord Nelson has directions to spare Denmark, when no longer resisting, but if the firing be continued on the part of Denmark, Lord Nelson must be obliged to set on fire all the floating batteries which he has taken, without having the power of saving the brave Danes who have defended them.” If we could believe all that Wilson says of the slaughter of the Turks at Jaffa, it is not comparable in cruelty to this threat; for Bo-

naparte's prisoners had forfeited their parole, and by the merciless laws of war were liable to death; but Nelson's prisoners had made no engagement, and consequently could claim the rights which although captured they possessed. But if Bonaparte had carried these Turks from Jaffa to Acre, and threatened to shoot them before the *Butcher*, if he would not surrender the town, he would have rejoiced at the sight of blood.... and even Sidney Smith, in his letters, speaks in terms of approbation of his mutilating the French prisoners, and drowning them bound in sacks. If Bonaparte were guilty of the charge, as he undoubtedly is not, he may be exculpated by general custom, his own situation, and the conduct of those with whom he contended. These remarks are not designed to justify any murderers; every military man acting on the offensive is accountable for all the lives which he may sacrifice. We may be dazzled with the splendour of victories, in which the talents and courage of the general or admiral have been strongly exhibited; but *truth* speedily divests them of this adventitious lustre, and declares every man an enemy to humanity who inflicts injury on our race; and him who has occasioned most misery to be the most unworthy of esteem.—*Sed satis.*

The third charge is so destitute of probability and authenticity, that it is truly wonderful it should have been repeated. Every

liberal English historian denies it as strongly as it is asserted; Stephens, the most candid writer on the subject of the French revolution, says:....

“ This diabolical policy, unjustly attributed to Frederick the Great, has also been imputed to Bonaparte. There can be no doubt but that the accusation originated in his own camp; and it has been recently reiterated in a work just published by an officer who served with the English army in Egypt.

“ It is but candid however to state, that nothing beyond bare assertion has been as yet adduced, and that proofs of an exculpatory tendency may be brought in favour of the first consul.

“ Desgenettes, the physician-general to the army, who is said to have refused to participate in the horrid deed proposed to him by Bonaparte, has borne ample testimony to his tenderness and attention to his troops whilst afflicted with the plague; and he expressly states in his “ *Histoire Medicale de l’armee d’Orient*,” that the general visited those who were confined with that dreadful malady in person, and even assisted in the most menial offices for their relief.

“ Notwithstanding I am well aware that it may be easy for an ambitious chief to feign that humanity which is foreign to his heart, yet until something in the shape of proof be brought forward, this accusation does not appear entitled to the sanction of history.”

Arthur Aikin, an author by no means friendly to the excesses of the French revolution, remarks thus:....

“ This affair of Jaffa, which appeared deplorable to the French generals, supplied Sidney Smith with a story of the inhuman massacre at Jaffa, and Mr. Morier with that of the 4,500 prisoners of war, who were made to stand still while



the soldiers murdered them by charge of bayonet, and which has this poetical ending : “ To this day their skeletons, and the sands steeped with gore, attest the barbarous act.” It is lamentable to hear an ambassador’s secretary, a man who ought to know something of the calumnies to which publick characters are exposed, bring all history into contempt by relating such things as these ; but he goes on to say, that after the siege of Acre, Bonaparte poisoned his wounded.”

When the two last charges against the consul were published, they were immediately contradicted by the French generals, and the identical physician to whom it was asserted Bonaparte had applied to poison the troops, denied the whole, and on the contrary represented that on his return from Syria, to expedite his march, and to secure the safety of the sick and wounded, the general travelled on foot, and frequently delivered his horse for the service of the afflicted soldiers. The truth of the original tale was again asserted by Wilson in a letter published since the commencement of the present war....at a time when the agents of the British government were plotting to assassinate the consul and to overthrow his authority, and when every means were considered proper to excite in the nation the strongest hatred to the French people and their governors, and to nourish the most enthusiastick determination to resist the threatened invasion. What could have been so well calculated to beget and to encourage this spirit in the British dominions, as a demonstration of the truth of this state-

ment? notwithstanding this imperious necessity, which demanded indubitable evidence, Wilson assures us of its truth "*upon his honour*" only. Does that author suppose that "his honour" can overcome the evidence of a whole life, or that the denial in France is not as weighty with the impartial observer, as the affirmation in England. That Wilson invented the story may be doubted, but that he has pledged his reputation upon its truth is incontrovertible. Why does he not bring forward the evidence of which he says he is possessed? And considering that every atrocity which can debase man, has been reported of Bonaparte since the declaration of war in 1803, its not being substantiated except by an individual's "*honour*," is very strong evidence that the narrative is a fabrication. If Bonaparte had murdered 580 of his own sick, an event which must have been notorious to all engaged in the expedition into Syria, would not the army at once have lost their attachment to him? Could he have returned to Egypt, and disgraced one of his battalions of grenadiers? Could he have escaped the revenge of some individual among the troops? Could he have intimidated all the soldiers who were with him in Egypt, so that none should ever authenticate the commission of the outrage? Could seven years have rolled away, and nothing but assertion be adduced to prove the truth of a crime so great and indescribably barbarous?

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And must this statement be believed because a military man of "honour" avows it? If the subject were not so grave, the calumny so great, and the tale so preposterous, it would almost excite a laugh to consider how easily the world are duped, and from not investigating the subjects proposed to their attention, how quickly they believe the most gross slander if it be boldly and impudently affirmed, and when contradicted, persisted in with the strongest asseverations. Whether these charges against Bonaparte be true or false, they cannot be credited until complete proof be promulged, as they contradict the whole life of the French emperor, are inconsistent with his general character, and the perpetration of them would have evinced an imprudence and a want of wisdom, with which he is not in any degree chargeable. The instances of sensibility, generosity and kindness to his army, which are narrated in this history, are a very strong evidence of the untruth of these allegations, and united to the other reasons in his favour, justify the impartial historian and reader in the conclusion, that the whole is a calumny, and that the French emperor is innocent in these respects; and the solemnity with which this tale has been published to the world, compared with its falsity, authorize the opinion, that he has likewise been injured in numberless manufactured slanders which have no other foundation than political legerdemain,

a malevolent heart, and an unblushing countenance.

Bonaparte soon after his elevation to the consulate, considering that the manners of fashionable life in France, and especially separate chambers, were not friendly to morals, determined by his example to lessen if possible the general licentiousness. The palace of St. Cloud was at this time preparing for him; the principal architect requested of him to point out in what part of the palace he would wish to have his separate sleeping room. "I do not know what you mean," said the consul, "crimes only divide the husband from his wife. Make as many bedrooms as you please, but *one* only for me and Madame Bonaparte."

"The emperor's countenance, though grave and serious, often relaxes into a smile of infinite benignity. He has little relish for the common pleasures of mankind, and seems not to shew himself at publick places for the sake of amusement. He is very fond of riding and driving carriages; hates large companies, and has therefore abolished the state dinners which he used to give when consul; but he sometimes relaxes in small parties, and plays at cards for trifling sums, though he never permits any thing like gaming in his presence; he is fond of dancing in a small circle, and sometimes requests the princess Louis to give him a ball, to which he names the company to be invited; they seldom ex-



ceed thirty. To supply the want of sleep, and to refresh himself after fatigue, he frequently uses the warm bath; and that he may lose no time by the operation, dictates letters, receives dispatches, and gives audience to his ministers in that situation: he retires soon after to rest, and rises again as early as when he lived at Nice."

"The success of Bonaparte has been more singular than his talents....every thing has conspired to promote his designs, and no instance is to be found in history of any man having risen from so low an origin to such a height of power; his character therefore is the greatest phenomenon which has ever appeared in the world. Cæsar was of a noble family; Alexander was born a prince; Pompey never equalled him; and as to the savage conquerors of Asia and Europe, they are not to be compared to him, either in extent of dominion or talents. The barbarous Goths, and the still more barbarous Turks, triumphed not over great and powerful nations, but over a luxurious and enervated empire. Bonaparte contended with the best disciplined and most vigorous forces which Germany, in her best times, ever sent into the field, and has surmounted the most subtle statesmen in Europe."

FINIS.

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## A COMPREHENSIVE VIEW

OF THE

### *French Revolution*\*.

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THAT immense change in the situation of the world, which is owing to the French revolution, has excited the astonishment of all civilized nations, and produced an investigation of the basis upon which so stupendous a superstructure has been raised.

The revolution in America operated like an electric shock upon the French people, who were burdened with taxes, impoverished by perpetual exactions, and constantly groaning under severe toil and incessant labour, for which they received little remuneration, being pinched by poverty and dispirited by want. But many domestick causes encouraged that violent demand for liberty which was too irresistible to be denied by a government which had so long swayed the nation without controul, kindness or affection.

The disordered situation of the publick finances ; the zeal of the parliaments ; the spirit of defection which had become general in the army, since the return of those troops who under La Fayette had visited the United States, and joined to establish their independence ; and that inherent love of liberty which distinguishes the French nation in every part of their history, must have co-operated with much success to introduce the change which soon followed. Besides these reasons, the situation of the government was adapted, when the flame began to rage, to increase it, and to hinder it from being extinguished. The French kings from the earliest ages have

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\* The former part of this sketch is much indebted to the introduction prefixed to Stephens' wars.

nurtured a warlike spirit in those whom they govern, and this when stimulated, may be a defence to the government, or the source of their punishment. The soldiers who returned from America were filled with ineffable surprize, when they saw the debased state of their countrymen, and recollected the independence of the citizens of the United States. They had perceived in the latter, virtue, talents and publick usefulness rewarded, and their contraries despised ; they had discovered penury to be no disgrace, and wealth to be no recommendation : whilst at home they were robbed by a corrupt, disorderly, dronish clergy, who seldom or never instructed them, and whose sole object was to preserve their own benefices, and the gross darkness of the middle age among the people ; their governors also were an hereditary aristocracy, the offspring of opulence and meanness, splendid in their appearance, disgraced by immense vices, and exalted so high, as to have little connection with those who were become " hewers of wood and drawers of water," only to the privileged orders.

The frequent demands for the convocation of the states-general had reached the ears of the army, who felt the strongest dislike to that mechanical discipline which Louis XVIth had introduced from Austria, Prussia and Russia, and whose punishments accompanied the non-performance of military duty ; and at this time there were very few men in the whole country who had not served in the army, they were consequently inured to discipline and familiar with discipline. The troops in the capital, who by their long residence therein, had contracted an intimate acquaintance with its citizens, were the first who felt the revolutionary spirit, and eventually fixed the fate of that despotism, which, supported by all the nobles and clergy, with an immense force accustomed to implicit obedience, aided by long custom, and strengthened by ancient prejudices, was now destined to sustain a complete overthrow.

Mr. Necker had persuaded the king to reform his immense household establishment, which lessened the admiration that the multitude had previously felt, and removed one incentive to their obedience. Louis XVI. who had frequently opposed with obstinacy the proceedings of the parliaments, submitted to their firmness, and hence the prerogative was found to have a restraint. The king himself was pitied, and by many despised ; being voluptuous, weak, timid, unstable, and tyrannical or yielding, according to the preponderance of the rash opinions of the queen, or his own irresolution.

Marie Antoinette also acquired the dislike of the nation in a considerable degree. Her manners were haughty, her expences incalculable, and her mode of life the subject of severe reprehension. The people accused her of being more attached to Austria than to France, whilst her want of decorum was the perpetual complaint of the gay Parisians. The king's two brothers and herself were at open variance; hence a number of court intrigues that would otherwise have been buried in oblivion were disseminated through Paris, which augmented the disquietude of its inhabitants, and evinced the necessity of an immediate reformation. The duke of Orleans, at the same time, was striving for popularity: banished by the king, and persecuted by the queen, he excited a spirit of opposition to the measures of government in his partisans, and gave all his influence to strengthen the revolutionary principles, and to promote the dissatisfaction of the people.

The whole system of government was abusive and tyrannical; the feudal hierarchy was become oppressive in the highest degree; and instead of being a barrier to the encroachments of the sovereign, were his most servile adherents: they enforced their sole right to the pleasures of hunting, &c. they advanced old and intolerable claims to procure means to gratify their luxury or avarice, and thus filled the minds of the peasantry with an unconquerable aversion to their masters, and with an insatiate desire for the approach of the day of retribution, when they might revenge the injuries to which they had been obliged to submit.

The dignified clergy also were arrived at the acme of voluptuousness, and having forgotten the grand design of the Christian ministry, intrigued for offices and sinecures, and by the most corrupt means obtained the highest rank in the church; but the art of printing, and the writings of a variety of authors\*, had lessened the superstitious reverence of the multitude for their ghostly rulers; whilst the immense revenues of the church excited the envy of those who thought this sum drawn from the labours of the poor, would tend much more

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\* Montesquieu, Mably, Raynal, Rousseau, and above all Voltaire, taught the subjects of that most absolute monarchy, to think and to speak as men: . . . Buffon, Condorcet, Bailly, Turgot, Diderot, d'Alembert, all aided in this work by the boldness of their inquiries, the freedom of their opinions, and the energy with which they combated the ancient tyranny; whilst Necker and Calonne, the former by his strictures on the finances, and the latter by his opposition to the privileged orders, must be allowed to have dispelled the ignorance of the nation with respect to their publick affairs.



to the benefit of the nation if it were the reward of industry, or applied to the establishment of those buildings which either diffuse knowledge, or give satisfaction and safety to the inhabitants.

But the clergy to degeneracy added injustice. They left their dioceses entirely to reside near the court, and appointed the lower orders to administer the word of God, so much corrupted by their superstitions; these men they pilfered of the gratuitous kindness of their flocks, and thereby fostered that dislike in the breasts of the lower clergy, which at length induced them to oppose their superiors, and hastened the destruction of the established hierarchy.

An education more republican had become general throughout the nation. The people read, and thought, and conversed with great freedom on the subjects of government. They ceased not to decry the abuses of the clergy, the corrupt administration of justice, the arbitrary exactions of the nobles, and the incessant demands which an improvident government made upon them to maintain its extravagances, and to supply its expences. Paris was in perpetual agitation; its great riches and vast population were of much influence in the popular scale: and the comparisons which were made between the wretchedness of poverty, and the splendour of the opulent, conjoined to the want of occupation and nourishment, the cry for liberty, the hopes of enjoying it, the addresses of some admired speakers, and the never-ceasing stream of inflammatory productions which flowed through Paris like a torrent, rendered a convulsion almost inevitable.

There was another species of injustice in the government, which although so long tolerated, animated the desire of change, and quickened that spirit of opposition which manifested itself in all parts of the nation. The Bastille and the Lettres de Cachet were the instruments of carrying into effect the vile oppressions under which the nation groaned. The venality of the government in each of its departments had attained its summit. A nobleman or rich man could secure his adversary a residence in the Bastille, if he would pay a sufficient price for a Lettre de Cachet, and they were sold with the most open impunity. The judges and other administrators of justice decided all causes in favour of those who rewarded them; and females, denominated *Les Solliciteuses*, were employed to procure awards from the courts of law.

The excessive load of taxes, which fell almost exclusively upon the lower class of people, aided the general discontent; the exemptions claimed by the privileged orders, which were

increased by the sale of titles of nobility, and the feudal rigours which subsisted in all their power, filled up the measure of national dissatisfaction.

In some districts the farmers were little superior to the boors of the north of Europe. Enchained by indigence to their native soil, forced from home by the nobility, to whom they were obliged to give their actual services, and maintaining a dissipated clergy, their families knew nothing of worldly comfort; many perished in seasons of scarcity; and previous to the revolution many were altogether enslaved.

“The people being thus left entirely destitute of redress or protection; the royal authority paramount and unbounded; the laws venal; the peasantry oppressed; agriculture in a languishing state; commerce considered as degrading; the publick revenues farmed out to greedy financiers; the publick money consumed by a court wallowing in luxury, and every institution at variance with policy, justice and reason; a change became inevitable in the ordinary course of human events; and like all sudden alterations in corrupt states, was accompanied with temporary evils and crimes, which made many good men look back on the ancient despotism with a sigh. But at this period the cry of liberty resounded in every possible direction from Paris, the city where the revolution was engendered, to the Alps, the Pyrenees, the plains of Flanders, the borders of the Channel, and the shores of the Mediterranean and the Atlantick.”

The states-général assembled at Versailles, May the 5th, 1789. Their proceedings were opened by Louis XVI. who read to them an address, which was received with much satisfaction; Mr. Varentin and Mr. Necker entered at large upon the situation of publick affairs: after some time spent in debating upon the junction of the nobility, clergy and commons in one body, the king suspended their meeting, but not without considerable opposition from the third estate, who contended against this proceeding with all their influence. They met again on the 22d of June, the commons having been joined by one hundred and forty-nine of the clergy and two of the nobility from Dauphine: the speech which was delivered by the king was very ungrateful to his auditors. After he had withdrawn, accompanied by the nobles and the minority of the clergy, M. de Breze intimated the king's orders that they should retire, but they persisted in their former resolutions, and declared the “persons of the deputies sacred and inviolable.” Forty-seven of the nobles, with the duke of Orleans, joined the commons, and on the fourth day, by the express re-

commendation of the king, a measure which he had prohibited in his second speech, the remainder of the nobility and clergy followed their example. Much joy was expressed on account of this agreement, but on the part of the court it was hypocritical, for at this crisis large bodies of foreign troops were collecting; thirty-five thousand were assembled in the neighbourhood of Paris; twenty thousand more were expected; artillery were provided; camps marked; batteries raised; military posts were established in the roads and on the bridges; and the marshal de Broglie appointed to the chief command.

The city of Paris was roused to a very alarming degree by these preparations; the effect intended, to terrify the Parisians, was not produced; and the orators who addressed them in the gardens of the Palais Royal, excited their curiosity and animated their zeal, until the cry of liberty became general, and extended even to the blind supporters of the measures of the court.

The military in the city of Paris made a common cause with the people, and those in the neighbourhood upon being ordered to attack the populace, who were releasing some soldiers from prison for disobeying an order to fire upon the citizens, laid down their arms and joined the insurgents. At this juncture Necker was sent into exile, and a new administration, all the decided advocates of despotism were appointed, who had fixed on the 14th of July to take possession of Paris, and thereby to destroy the national assembly.

A trifling incident disconcerted every project of the court. The Parisians were carrying the busts of Necker and Orleans in triumph, when they were attacked by a patrol of the Royal Allemande regiment, and several persons were wounded. Soon after the alarm bell of each parish was rung; the women and children filled the city with their cries; signal guns were fired; the citizens prepared their houses for defence, whilst the populace seized all the arms in the different shops in the city, and hastened to the town house. Being joined by the guards they gave battle to the foreigners, gained the victory, and forced all the regular troops to evacuate Paris and to retreat to Versailles, which filled the court with the most perfect dismay.

But the appearance of a banditti in the neighbourhood of the city, who had already burnt several houses in the suburbs, and who were hastening to Paris for provisions, of which there was a scarcity, induced the immediate formation of a city militia; but arms being wanting, those who had enrolled themselves

members of the new militia marched to the invalid hospital, took possession of the artillery, and secured about fifty thousand pikes, sabres and muskets. Upon this occasion more than sixty thousand were enrolled into companies; the sergeants and grenadiers of the guards were elected officers; cannon were posted on all the avenues to Versailles; and the Place Dauphine, being provided with a numerous artillery, became the head-quarters of the militia, afterwards called the patriotic army.

On the morning of the 14th of July, a circumstance occurred which decided the superiority of the popular cause. Some individual, whose name is not recorded, having engaged the attention of the citizens, cried, "*Let us take the Bastille.*" Nothing could have been so appropriate; no motion so well-timed; it resounded throughout Paris, and in a few minutes an army was formed, which being speedily joined by all the troops in the capital, perplexed and intimidated De Launay, the governor.

The assailants beginning to attack the gates, the garrison fired upon the people, and killed several upon the spot—this kindled the rage of the multitude, which was satiated by the capture only of the prison, after a contest of four hours. De Launay was immediately beheaded, and the whole of the garrison would have been immolated upon the altar of revenge, had not the French guards petitioned for them, mercy. The national assembly, during these events, did not adjourn for two days and two nights, until the capture of the Bastille was announced. On the following morning the king ordered the troops to retire, and the citizens elected Mr. Bailly mayor of Paris, and de la Fayette commander of the national guards. The Bastille, the object of first hatred, was demolished immediately after these events; the prisoners, amounting to seven only in number, were liberated and carried in triumph through the principal streets of Paris; the torturous instruments were exposed before the whole city; and the strong hold of despotism was thus destroyed, not one stone of it being left upon another.

In consequence of the capture of the Bastille, many of the princes and nobility fled to Germany; Mr. Necker was recalled from Basle, to which city he had been exiled, and the famous declaration of rights was adopted by the national assembly and sanctioned by the king. On the 4th of August, 1789, the old feudal system was entirely abolished, and Louis XVI. received the title of "*The Restorer of Liberty*;" but soon after he sent a long letter, refusing his assent to some of



the proceedings of the 4th of August; this added to the imprudent conduct of the national militia, the Swiss troops, the body guards, and the regiment of Flanders, who were exceedingly hated in France, excited the suspicions of the national assembly, and at one of their meetings, Mirabeau denounced the queen and the duke de Guiche.

On the fifth of October, the populace being joined by the guards under La Fayette, proceeded to Versailles, and forced the king and his family to return to Paris, that they might not retire to the frontiers. The constitution having been now formed, the grand meeting in the Champ de Mars was held, where the king, the representatives, and great numbers of the clergy took a solemn oath to maintain the constitution.

But the subsequent conduct of the king produced much disquietude. He fled from Paris with his family incognito, and had arrived at Varennes ere he was recognised; but Drouet, post-master of St. Menehould, discovered him, and he was escorted back to the capital. The legislature speedily after dissolved their body, and from the 30th of September sat no more.

The second legislative body were convened upon the dissolution of the former: the nobles and priests still continued to fly, and Coblenz became the general rendezvous: the French princes joined their countrymen in that city, the old court ceremonies were established, and an army had begun to assemble, when the national assembly, December 29, 1791, decreed that the prince of Conde should forfeit his right to the regency, if he did not return within two months; that all the men uniting at Coblenz were traitors, and sent their manifesto to the different courts in Europe.

At this time the king was plotting a counter-revolution, although he had most solemnly assented to the proceedings of the national assembly. The political parties in France were numerous, and each had a large number of adherents. But the society which made so much noise, and figured so strongly from this time, in the affairs of the revolution, was the Jacobins, whose influence was immense, and who might be said frequently to decide the measures of the legislative body. But the eminence which they had acquired was owing to the queen's hostility to the constitution and liberty; the foolish conduct of the king; the absurd precipitation of the foreign powers; and the war which was speedily announced. The continental states judging that they could destroy all the work of reformation which had been begun in France, entered into a coalition which, under the pretext of restoring Louis XVI. to the throne, was intended to partition France, as they

had divided Poland :....war being declared, a bloody manifesto was promulged by the Duke of Brunswick, which surpasses any sanguinary edict issued during the late war. On the tenth of August, an insurrection occurred in Paris, which ended in the death of many of the Swiss guards, who defended the king in the Thuilleries....this event suspended the royal authority, and produced the election of a national convention, to organize the distressed situation of publick affairs : previous to the meeting of that body, Fayette deserted the command of the army and Dumouriez was appointed his successor. The Prussian army entered France in the latter end of August, conquered Longwy and Verdun, and forced Dumouriez by this success to post himself in the forest of Argonne, from which he retired to the camp of St. Menebould, and the duke commenced the siege of Thionville.

The convention met in September, and on the 21st of that month decreed the abolition of royalty, and the transformation of the form of government to that of a republick : they immediately proceeded to excite all the latent energies of the nation, that the progress of the allies might be checked, and the invaders driven from the country. The king of Prussia perceiving that neither glory nor advantage was to be derived from a contest with the French, withdrew his troops, although with numberless difficulties and privations, and it was owing either to Dumouriez's remissness or treachery, that any of them escaped.

The retreat of the allied forces delivered the French government from all their anxiety, and determined them to act upon the offensive : their generals were ordered to advance into Germany : Worms, Mentz and Frankfort were immediately captured, and an incursion was made into the dominions of the prince of Hesse. Savoy was attacked at the same time : Chamberie, Nice and Montalbin submitted to the French, and a grand fete was celebrated at Paris to testify the national joy.

Whilst these movements insured the safety of the republick, the northern armies emulated the example of their comrades, and under the command of Dumouriez traversed the Netherlands with great celerity in consequence of the battle of Gemappe, which was so decisive as to enable the French general to take possession of nearly the whole of Flanders, as fast as his troops could march to their posts : Mons, Brussels, Liege, Antwerp and Namur being garrisoned by French soldiers. This short campaign having been so peculiarly successful on behalf of the French, the army was permitted to retire into winter quarters.

The commencement of the year 1793 completed the revolution ; the convention, as the supreme authority of the nation having deposed their monarch, arraigned, tried and condemned him to death. He was guillotined immediately after his sentence, and to his execution may be attributed the long and merciless war which succeeded. The interest which Bonaparte evinced, and the services which he performed for the nation, have been already narrated in his life, hence his part of the history will not be noticed ; but to connect the whole work, a cursory view of the changes of the republick until the elevation of Napoleon I. to the consulate will be introduced.

The news of Louis' death had no sooner reached London, than the French ambassador was dismissed with the most profound contempt ; war was declared ; a coalition was formed which included all the European states except Denmark and Sweden, and the most vigorous preparations made to renew the war. Anticipating the arrival of troops from England, Dumouriez invaded Holland, captured Breda, Klundert, &c. but the duke of York's landing, with the success of the Austrians on the Rhine, induced the French armies to raise the siege of Maestricht, and to retreat towards the frontiers : much of this apparent defeat was the effect of Dumouriez's baseness, who soon after deserted his army, and retired to the allies ; upon which Dampierre was appointed his successor. The battles of Famars, where the French commander was slain. Quievrain and St. Amand speedily followed ; these forced the French to retreat, and left Conde, Valenciennes, &c. at the mercy of the allies, which fortresses, with Mentz, were possessed by their troops. In the course of this summer the convention decreed, " That all the people of colour born of free parents, were eligible to offices in the colonial government," and the British conquered Tobago, Miquelon, St. Pierre, Pondicherry, and several other stations of value and importance both in the East and West-Indies. Lord Hood was appointed to the Mediterranean with a formidable fleet, and the misfortunes of France seemed to be consummated ; an internal commotion which ended in the death of Brissot and twenty other deputies, was the ruin of Lyons, and convulsed the republick through all its departments. But the Jacobins, influenced by Robespierre, which party now held the reins of government, immediately resorted to every measure to recruit the armies, and instantaneously levied 800,000 men, who with the troops already in active service, formed an impenetrable cordon from the British channel entirely round France to the insurgent departments of La Vendee. Hou-

chard having been nominated to the command of the northern army, discomfited the English under the duke of York, with immense loss, and had he not sold his country's interests, for which he was quickly guillotined, the whole of the allies engaged in the siege of Dunkirk must have been prisoners of war. But the Austrians still maintained their superiority, and drove all the French advanced posts into their intrenched camp at Maubeuge, and captured Quesnoy. Whilst these events occurred in the north of France, Toulon was assailed by lord Hood, and taken possession of by him; but the allies were driven from it after a siege of three months, and a five days assault....this success was almost entirely owing to the exertions of Bonaparte. The campaign ended on the Rhine by the conquest of Haguenau, Weissembourg, Spires, &c. which fortresses, after an incessant series of battles, submitted to Pichegru; this forced general Wurmser to cross the Rhine with astonishing precipitation, and obliged the duke of Brunswick to retreat to Mentz, where he resigned his command.

The spring of 1794 commenced favourably for the allies, who were successful in several partial actions; but Pichegru's defeat of Clairfait, and the battle of Fleurus, which was gained by Jourdan, left to one part of the combined forces no other resource than to retreat from the Netherlands into Holland, and to the other than to fall back upon the Rhine. These reverses were succeeded by the surrender of Landrecies. Quesnoy, Valenciennes and Conde, in which towns the French found immense booty. The armies suspended all military operations during the lapse of two months, after which Jourdan proceeded in his career, and conquered all the territories on the left bank of the Rhine except Mentz. Pichegru invaded Holland, and having forced all the fortified towns to surrender, crossed with his army and artillery the rivers and dykes, drove the stadtholder from his capital, and secured a squadron of men of war frozen in the Zuyder Zee, by detaching a body of cavalry and artillery on the ice. The prosperity of the republic, although not so great on the Rhine, in Italy, and in Spain, was very evident, and it required little foresight to state what would be the effects of arming a powerful nation in self-defence. This year was distinguished by the naval victory of lord Howe, which materially injured the French maritime force, and in a great measure ascertained the British superiority on the ocean. The island of Corsica was invaded, conquered and as quickly restored by the English: and the greater part of the French West-Indies belonged to the British fleets.

At the commencement of the year 1795, the French republic exhibited a most formidable aspect, and her conquests



had so terrified some of the powers, that they concluded it safest to acknowledge her and to form treaties of peace.... hence Spain, Prussia, Tuscany, Hanover and Hesse seceded from the coalition, and left those who had no more judgment than to persist, to feel alone all the direful consequences of their infatuation. The campaign began in Flanders with the capture of Luxembourg by the French, and the blockade of Mentz; immediately upon which the armies crossed the Rhine, but were obliged after many severe conflicts to re-pass that river. In Italy the campaign was generally successful on the part of the French until nearly its close, when the Austrian emperor dispatched 25 000 troops to oppose their progress, and the army retired into winter quarters, in which situation they continued until Bonaparte assumed the command. In the mean time the convention had dissolved itself, a new constitution was adopted, and the executive department was confided to a directory. The naval campaign produced nothing of importance, the only actions were fought between Hotham and Bridport, and two French squadrons, but the effects were trifling.

The Italian campaign of 1796 has already been detailed. The contest in Germany had been so completely successful that Moreau and Jourdan advanced into the heart of Germany, but the defeat of the latter obliged the former to retreat, and this is the event in Moreau's military character which has raised him to the very highest rank in his profession; the famous retreat of Xenophon being upon comparison with that of the modern but the achievements of a cadet. This year also saw the conclusion of the war in La Vendee, which Hoche had effected, and thus liberated the republick from its most distressing enemy. In 1796 the Dutch possessions in the East and West-Indies submitted to the British troops, who appeared to be determined to procure indemnity abroad for their disasters at home.

The campaign of 1797 in Germany, was on the point of commencing when the preliminaries at Leoben were signed by Bonaparte, and the armies were permitted to enjoy a state of repose, whilst the temporary peace between France and Austria continued. During this year two naval battles were fought ....the first was a victory over the Spaniards by lord St. Vincent, with the capture of four large ships after a partial action; the other, which was the most severe contest at sea throughout the war, was a victory gained by lord Duncan, and it must be admitted that had not admiral Storey withdrawn his division from the Dutch fleet, it is very problematical to whom the superiority would have belonged.

The congress of Rastadt met at the latter end of the year 1797, to adjust all disputes between the Germanic potentates, which had arisen from numbers of them having made peace with Moreau during his irruption into Germany in 1796: whilst that body was sitting, the directory declared war against the Pope, and obliged him to submit to the terms which they dictated, and the revolutionary fire having begun to extend itself in Switzerland, they detached a large body of troops to that country to maintain peace, and to punish it as having been the residence of all the intriguers during the war. Nelson's victory off Egypt induced the Porte to declare war against France: a Russian fleet appeared in the Mediterranean, and the king of Naples marched against Rome, which caused the king of Sardinia to transfer his Italian possessions to the directory. The British expedition to Ostend, in which the whole army were forced to surrender, is the sole memorable event of the year 1798, on that part of the European continent. Circumstances having changed, the king of Naples fled to Palermo, and the French proclaimed that kingdom a republic: but the slowness of the proceedings at Rastadt, the murder of the French commissioners deputed to adjust the indemnifications, and the promised support of the Russians, actuated the German emperor to recommence the contest. During the year 1799, the French armies were inferior to their opponents; they were depressed, and generally vanquished: after having been reduced to the most perilous situation, Massena forced that barbarous ruffian Suwarrow to return to Russia with the loss of 60,000 men during his short campaign, and acquired the laurel which through the death of Joubert, and some victories when contending with Moreau, the latter had appropriated to himself: he retired into obscurity, to die as he had lived, the scorn of mankind, and the disgrace of human nature; he perished without compassion, and his name is never repeated without emotions of horror. In the fall of this year, the English and Russians, commanded by the duke of York, invaded Holland, but after three actions at Bergen, Alkmaar and Baccum, they were obliged to purchase their departure at a very high price: perishing with hunger, opposed by a powerful and victorious army, with no possibility of embarking, the royal hero was obliged to submit to very humiliating terms, which general Brune, a printer, dictated.

At this crisis Bonaparte arrived from Egypt; the republican armies were greatly diminished; the Austrian emperor had recovered his Italian possessions; the sea was the property of British fleets and cruisers, and the French nation was unable to assist its allies, and from its exhausted treasury to provide

for its own necessities. The executive department was confided to the hero of Italy ; new energy was infused into all parts of the nation ; the finances were restored to order ; the armies were recruited, and again appeared formidable ; publick confidence returned ; the treaties of peace signed at Luneville and Amiens, the consequence of a series of victories, were unwillingly concluded by the enemies of France, and as if by enchantment, the French emperor is now exalted to the controul of almost all the civilized parts of the European continent.

The licentiousness of the inhabitants has been repressed ; the causes of the various excesses of the revolution have been destroyed ; the facility of procuring divorces abolished ; that general contempt for the worship of God which had been encouraged by the Jacobins whilst they tacitly directed the affairs of the republick, is gradually extinguishing, and the utmost liberty of conscience authorized. Whilst considerable restrictions of a civil nature have been imposed upon the inhabitants of France, and the afflictive scenes of the revolution may have rendered them in some measure necessary ; the most unbounded religious liberty is enjoyed, and it is probably a truth that vital religion is more perceptible at this period than during the reign of Louis XVI. The French nation, notwithstanding all the crimes which accompanied its late change, is immensely meliorated ; the situation of the lower classes of people is highly improved ; agriculture, commerce and manufactures, formerly despised, are encouraged by the emperor, and all the ramifications of the government evince the superintendence of their energetick, indefatigable and unparalleled chief. To prove how much superior the present state of the nation is to its condition prior to the revolution, one circumstance only is necessary to be adduced. After the concordatum between the Consul and the Pope was promulged, the protestants, whose numbers are greatly augmented in consequence of the destruction of the old hierarchy, fearing that they might again be proscribed, addressed Bonaparte upon the subject, his reply was perfectly congenial to the rights of conscience. His exaltation to the imperial dignity and coronation, induced the protestants to depute a body of their ministers to express their obedience to him in his new character : his answer to their address, which shall conclude this sketch, is full proof of the position advanced : “ I see with pleasure assembled here, the pastors of the reformed churches of France, and seize with avidity this opportunity to declare my satisfaction with the fidelity and good conduct of the pastors and citizens of the several protestant communions. I wish it

to be published, that my firm resolve and desire are to maintain the liberty of worship. The empire of the law ends where the empire of conscience begins. Neither the law nor the sovereign dare to diminish that liberty. Such are my principles and those of the nation, and if any of my race, who may succeed me, shall forget my coronation oath, and misled by a false confidence, shall violate it, I devote him to public animadversion, and authorize you to denominate him Nero."

*FINIS.*



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